

Representing National Identity and Memory in the Mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

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Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, first president of the Republic of Turkey and leader of its War of Independence (1919–1923), died in a bedroom in the former Ottoman seat of government, Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul, at 9:05 a.m. on 10 November 1938 (Figure 1). He had been seriously ill for some time and was in Istanbul, rather than Ankara—the new capital of Turkey—at the advice of his doctors, who recommended its sea-level altitude and mild climate.

Soon after Atatürk's death, preparations began for his official funeral, which would take place in Ankara eleven days later. The famous German modernist architect Bruno Taut was commissioned to design the catafalque that would be the architectural focus of that event (Figure 2). In the meantime, a temporary yet dignified catafalque was arranged in the Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace (Figure 3). Atatürk's coffin lay upon that structure from 16 to 19 November 1938, after which it was draped with the Turkish flag, loaded onto a gun carriage, and escorted through the streets of Istanbul to Seraglio Point. There the coffin was transferred to a battleship and taken to Izmit, where it was loaded onto a special train, arriving in Ankara on the morning of 20 November.

Upon leaving the train, the coffin was again loaded onto a gun carriage and ceremoniously conducted up the new, wide Station Avenue and placed onto the catafalque designed by Taut, located in the forecourt of the Turkish Grand National Assembly Building (known today as the Second Parliament



Figure 1 Atatürk's Dolmabahçe bedroom

Building), in the Ulus district of Ankara. The coffin remained on Taut's catafalque for the rest of the day as the body lay in state. Atatürk's official state funeral took place the next morning, on 21 November 1938. At the conclusion of ceremonies, which included processions of Turkish soldiers, foreign honor guards, representatives of friendly nations, and the general public, Atatürk's coffin was again carried on a gun carriage and escorted to the Ethnographic Museum, where a temporary tomb had been prepared (Figure 4). Atatürk's body lay in this tomb until 10 November 1953, exactly fifteen years after his death; then it was moved to a permanent mausoleum,



Figure 2 Atatürk's catafalque in Ankara, designed by Bruno Taut, 1938



Figure 3 Atatürk's Istanbul catafalque in the Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace, 1938

Anıtkabir (literally, “memorial tomb”), where it still lies today (Figure 5).

The projects proposed for Atatürk's mausoleum (the Anıtkabir) and the monument that was built represented both the man Atatürk and the nation of Turkey. The discussions and decisions about the architectural form and site of the Anıtkabir reveal that the monument is more than just the final resting place of Atatürk's body but also a national stage set and a representation of the hopes and ideals of the Republic of Turkey. It is a three-dimensional explanation and reinforcement of an imagined history of the Turks: their struggle for independence and the founding of the Republic of Turkey after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

Before Anıtkabir

Atatürk's corpse was accommodated in four other places before Anıtkabir: his bedroom in Dolmabahçe Palace, an impromptu catafalque in Dolmabahçe's Grand Ceremonial Hall, Bruno Taut's Ankara catafalque for the official funeral, and his temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum, Ankara. Related to these constructions were also the transfer ceremonies with which Atatürk's body was conveyed through Istanbul and on to Ankara in 1938; from Taut's catafalque to the Ethnographic Museum, also in 1938; and from the Ethnographic Museum to Anıtkabir in 1953. All of these settings and ceremonies—some accidental, some designed, some temporary, and some permanent—were, in one way or another, architectural representations of Atatürk.

Atatürk had used his Dolmabahçe bedroom whenever he was required to be in Istanbul rather than in the fledgling capital of Ankara or elsewhere in Turkey (see Figure

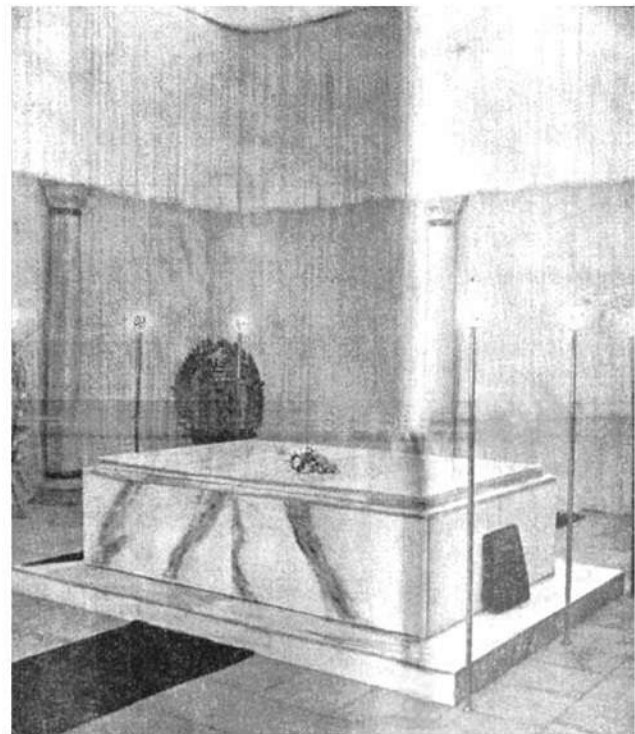


Figure 4 Atatürk's temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum, Ankara, 1938–53

1). His facilities in the palace, which also included an adjacent study and bathroom, were on the top floor of the harem section of the palace, with a view directly overlooking the Bosphorous Straits. Today, along with the palace, these rooms have achieved museum status and can be visited as part of the tour of Dolmabahçe.¹ The bedroom is supposed



Figure 5 Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, Atatürk's permanent tomb, Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1942–53

edly kept as it was on the morning of 10 November 1938, with a clock from another part of the palace brought in and stopped at the exact time of Atatürk's death.

The fact that Atatürk died in Istanbul is a quirk of history that can be interpreted as if the excesses of the former empire and its capital had brought about his death. In fact, Atatürk had a troubled relationship with the former Ottoman capital, only visiting when required to do so, and he retired to Istanbul in the summer of 1938 only to escape the heat and dry air of Ankara that was making his unknown illness unbearable.² But by dying in Dolmabahçe Palace, Atatürk did more to make the building a property of the people and the Republic of Turkey than did the 1927 law that officially declared such ownership.³ The collective memory of the place was irreversibly changed from a former Ottoman palace to the place where Atatürk died. Classified according to Michael Rowlands's definitions of memorials and monuments,⁴ the Dolmabahçe bedroom, which is quite domestic in size, is a memorial, not a monument, because it reminds the visitor of the death, not the life, of Atatürk.

The Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace, the location of Atatürk's Istanbul catafalque, is a monumental space that links the two halves of the palace (see Figure

3). It was used during Ottoman times for important state events like banquets, proclamations, and holiday celebrations.⁵ It is estimated that approximately 500,000 people visited the catafalque during the three days that Atatürk's coffin was on display.⁶ The catafalque was modest in scale and detail—merely a red fabric-covered platform raised one step above the floor level—which supported the Turkish flag-draped coffin of Atatürk. Around the coffin four generals and two enlisted soldiers stood on guard with swords drawn. In a semicircle behind the coffin, six large candleholders or torches, representing the six pillars of Kemalism, were arranged and kept lit. Floral arrangements were laid out at the foot of the coffin, carefully positioned so that visitors could see the names of the donors.

The Dolmabahçe catafalque was the first designed setting for Atatürk's remains. Although its location in the Grand Ceremonial Hall equated Atatürk with the former Ottoman sultans, the Dolmabahçe catafalque, just like Atatürk's death, marked the supersession of the Ottoman Empire and the appropriation of the building by the new Republic. The elements of funerary symbolism introduced at Dolmabahçe Palace (flag-draped coffin, soldiers on guard, six flames, and floral arrangements) continued in subsequent settings and ceremonies. The experience of the

catafalque was intimate, taking place within an enclosed interior space, thereby reinforcing its memorial qualities.

The first part of the journey of Atatürk's body to Ankara was a procession through the streets of Istanbul from Dolmabahçe Palace to Seraglio Point. Photographs show crowds of people packed along the sides of the road and on rooftops to see Atatürk's flag-draped coffin pulled on a gun carriage by six horses, three of which were riderless, to the sounds of Chopin's "Funeral March."⁷ Leading the procession was a general carrying Atatürk's Independence Medal, awarded to him by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1923. The coffin left Dolmabahçe Palace at 9:22 a.m., traveled through the Tophane district, crossed the Galata Bridge, and arrived at the water's edge at Seraglio Point in Gülhane Park at 12:26 p.m.⁸ At 12:42 p.m., the torpedo boat *Zafer* picked up Atatürk's coffin and took it out to the battleship *Yavuz*, anchored in the Sea of Marmara. At 1:40 p.m., a 101-gun salute sounded, with warships from Turkey, Britain, the Soviet Union, Germany, France, Greece, and Romania participating. At 7:40 p.m., Atatürk's coffin was again transferred to the *Zafer* and returned to land at Izmit at exactly 8:00 p.m., where it was transferred to a special train decorated with flowers, flags, and laurel wreaths. Although the train journey from Izmit to Ankara occurred in the middle of the night, the stations along the way were packed with crowds.⁹ Atatürk's train arrived in Ankara at 10:00 a.m. and was greeted by a delegation consisting of newly named President İsmet İnönü, members of parliament, soldiers, police, civil servants, and everyday people. The coffin was again transferred to a gun carriage and was escorted up Station Avenue, today renamed Republic Boulevard, to Bruno Taut's catafalque in front of the parliament building.

This transfer of Atatürk's body from Istanbul to Ankara was the first of its several relocations before the construction of Anıtkabir. The coffin was a moving object of attention as it passed through the streets of Istanbul and Ankara, and across the countryside between them. Atatürk's coffin seems to have been paraded through the streets of Istanbul, rather than loaded directly onto a boat at Dolmabahçe Palace, in order to reenact his famous May 1919 departure from Istanbul to Samsun, generally seen by historians as the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence. Similarly, the coffin's journey through the streets of Ankara recalled Atatürk's December 1919 arrival in that city, after which he used it as the center for all war operations. These grand processions were all orchestrated by the Turkish state, which exclusively controlled the representation of Atatürk during this time.

Atatürk's catafalque, used for his lying-in-state and official funeral in Ankara, was designed by Bruno Taut, who

had lived in Turkey since 1936. A previous project by German architect Martin Elsaesser was rejected before Taut was asked. Taut would seem the obvious first choice because of his position as head of architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, the only architecture school in Turkey at the time, but Elsaesser may have been asked first because of Taut's ill health.¹⁰ Taut's catafalque, like its Dolmabahçe predecessor, consisted of a platform, raised about 2 meters, supporting Atatürk's flag-draped coffin, around which four generals and two soldiers kept guard (see Figure 2). Ivy was sparsely trained up the fabric backdrop of the coffin. This platform and coffin, however, were dwarfed by a second, enormous Turkish flag, suspended vertically above it, supported by a 14-meter-high skeleton of columns that was wrapped in bay and ivy and which formed a cube of space around Atatürk's coffin.¹¹ This structure was set directly in front of and on axis with the entrance to the Parliament building behind it. Leading back to the building, with space in-between to access the Parliament entrance, were 7-meter-high flower-covered walls forming L shapes. Large, shallow urns filled with fire topped the four columns of the cube, with two more on the top of each flower-covered flanking walls. The catafalque was constructed between 17 and 19 November, overseen by the Turkish architect Mahmut Bilen. After its use on 20 and 21 November 1938, it was dismantled, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

Taut's catafalque was the first carefully designed funerary construction in the series of structures leading up to Anıtkabir. It reminded those who attended Atatürk's funeral of his achievements and ideology. Its location in front of the Turkish Parliament embodied the establishment of democracy, the immature plants symbolized the founding of the still youthful nation, and the columns, topped by eternal flames, represented the everlasting six pillars of Kemalism. Like the Dolmabahçe catafalque, Taut's catafalque also functioned to make the spectators of Atatürk's funeral forget the Ottoman Empire. Its location in Ankara, not Istanbul, concretized this new reality, and its placement in front of the Parliament rather than a mosque positioned the event firmly in a Western or European, rather than Eastern, tradition. The funeral's public setting and its secular ceremony, combined with the fact that catafalques are a Western funerary apparatus, also announced that the architecture and event were non-Ottoman. These representations, unlike the previous constructions, began to move from the memorialization of Atatürk toward the monumentalization of both him and the Turkish nation.

Taut's design was not only consistent with his architectural attitude during the two brief years he spent in Turkey,

but also his general propensity to refine or redefine modernist forms to accommodate local conditions like climate, geography, and history. During his time in Turkey, before which he was in Japan for four years, Taut designed some twenty-four projects, eight of which were realized: mostly schools for the Turkish Ministry of Education, but also a house for himself in Istanbul, an exhibition building in Izmir, and the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography for Ankara University. In all of these projects, Taut attempted to merge tradition with modernity, but he did not embrace tradition without caution. In his posthumously published *Lectures on Architecture*, he wrote, "It is important to avoid a superficial imitation [of tradition]. Otherwise, this tendency can lead to a sentimental romanticism and a misunderstood nationalism resulting in kitsch."¹²

Atatürk's coffin lay on Taut's catafalque for the entire day and night of 20 November, publicly open to the nation of Turkey. His official state burial began at 9:30 a.m. the next day with the arrival of the prime minister, Celal Bayar, and other members of parliament. First, the coffin was again transferred onto a gun carriage while English, German, Russian, Greek, Iranian, and Yugoslav honor guards marched past and saluted. At 10:45 a.m., the casket set out on its journey to the Ethnographic Museum, pulled by ninety-six Turkish soldiers, again to the sound of Chopin's "Funeral March." The route taken through Ankara by the procession led back down Station Avenue, turned left at the train station, passed the Ankara Exhibition Building, then turned right behind the People's House, and ended up in front of the Ethnographic Museum at 1:10 p.m.¹³ This was not the most direct route; it seems to have been chosen in order to prolong the event as long as possible. This episode can be defined as the transition between funeral and burial. The commemorative project now shifted from a memorial, honoring Atatürk, toward the creation of a monument that was impressive and enduring, like Turkey.

The Ethnographic Museum had been designed by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu and built in 1925–28. Its historical references, including pointed arches, tile work, and a dome, mark the building as belonging to the First [Turkish] National Style, the label given to buildings designed during the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic that represented Turkishness by grafting traditional motifs onto Beaux-Arts principles of symmetry, axiality, and monumentality. Although not designed in a modern style, the Ethnographic Museum was one of several cultural institutions founded and constructed by the young republic to represent its modernizing project in architecture. Other such buildings include the neighboring Central People's House (a social hall and exhibition gallery), the Museum of Anato-

lian Civilizations in Ankara,¹⁴ and various similar smaller institutions in the provinces of Turkey. The dome and entrance steps of the Ethnographic Museum dominate its appearance. Inside, a very symmetrical plan centers on a courtyard surrounded by connected galleries, in which are displayed folkloric and traditional Turkish costumes, musical instruments, house wares, textiles, and mannequin-filled dioramas of everyday scenes.

Atatürk's temporary tomb was located in the very center of the Ethnographic Museum, in the courtyard at the crossing of the building's main axes.¹⁵ The court was covered to shelter the tomb, which was designed by Hüsni Tümer, a civil servant architect in the Ministry of Public Works (see Figure 4). The tomb consisted of a simple, abstract marble block about 1 meter high and 2 meters by 50 centimeters in plan. The only decoration was a small band around the top, about 10 centimeters high and recessed several centimeters, and the jointing of the marble blocks, which were square cut and varied in size. Surrounding the tomb were six tall, slender, free-standing metal electric torches, again representing the six pillars of Kemalism. Today a marble plaque marks the spot where the tomb once stood, stating in bold capital letters: "THIS IS THE PLACE WHERE ATATÜRK, WHO PASSED INTO ETERNITY ON 10 NOVEMBER 1938, LAID FROM 21 NOVEMBER 1938 TO 10 NOVEMBER 1953."¹⁶

This abstract marble block of the tomb contrasted greatly with the surrounding Ethnographic Museum, with its Ottoman and Seljuk architectural detailing, decorative painting, and tile work. The decorative restraint and geometric simplicity of the design were much more modern than Taut's catafalque. Locating Atatürk's temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum was an act of appropriation. Although the museum was designed to decontextualize the everyday objects that it collected, it was not designed to be the grave of Atatürk. By placing the body of Atatürk in the Ethnographic Museum, however, the Republic of Turkey prominently displayed its founder and creator as one of the museum's exhibits.¹⁷

Atatürk's body was moved from the Ethnographic Museum to Anıtkabir on 10 November 1953, exactly fifteen years after his death. The coffin was again carried on a gun carriage. This time, the driverless wagon was pulled by 138 Turkish second lieutenants, up the Avenue of the Banks to Ulus Square, past the Parliament building (where Atatürk's funeral had occurred), down again to the train station where his body had arrived in Ankara in 1938, and under the train tracks to Tandoğan Square, arriving at the gate of Anıtkabir at 12:15 p.m. and at the steps in front of the Hall of Honor at 12:55.

This transfer of Atatürk's body, unlike before, was a carnival-like event that was almost celebratory, filled with

optimism for the future and clearly reflecting the distance that separated it from the pain of fifteen years earlier. It was less like a funeral, with somber faces and funerary traditions, and more like a party. Instead of 96 soldiers (16 rows of 6) pulling Atatürk's coffin, there were 138 (23 rows of 6). Like the 1938 transfer from Taut's catafalque to the Ethnographic Museum, the procession did not take the most direct route, prolonging the festivities and allowing as many people as the roads could hold to participate. This time, the music the Army Military College Band played during the procession was not a funeral march, and other carnival-like events occurred: cannon fire announced the beginning of the procession at 9:05 a.m., Military College students threw streamers, and Air Force planes pulled an Atatürk flag-portrait in the sky and dropped flowers tied to small parachutes.¹⁸

The Siting of Anıtkabir

Although Atatürk said, "My people may bury me wherever they wish, as long as they do not forget me," the selection of a location for his permanent mausoleum was not an easy task.¹⁹ In an informal conversation with planner Müdür Tahsin Bey at the Ankara Model Farm, Atatürk did apparently give rather specific instructions:

On that tiny hill, a small and beautiful little grave could be made for me. It would not have to have four sides and a covered top . . . From every corner of the nation, it would be like news was brought to me from the open blowing wind and would circulate on top of my tomb. Put an inscription on the door. Write my "Address to the Turkish Youth" on top. Over there the road is very frequented. Everyone passing would read it every time.²⁰

A site selection committee was appointed by the Turkish parliament to research appropriate locations in Ankara. This was chaired by the undersecretary of the prime minister and consisted of two generals from the Ministry of National Defense, the general director of construction from the Ministry of Public Works, the Interior Ministry undersecretary, and the general director of higher education from the Ministry of Education. They first met on 6 December 1938, less than one month after Atatürk's death, when they decided to add foreign experts to the committee. Herman Jansen (author of the 1928 Master Plan for Ankara), Clemens Holzmeister (architect of many government buildings in Ankara, including the currently used Turkish Parliament building), Rudolph Belling (sculptor and professor at the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts), and Bruno Taut (architect and professor at the Istanbul Academy of Fine

Arts) joined the commission at its next meeting on 16 December 1938.²¹

Many sites in Ankara were evaluated by this committee: Yeşiltepe, Tamerlane Hill, the Youth Park, the Atatürk Model Farm, the Ankara Castle, Altındağ Hill, the Ministries District, Çankaya Hill, in front of the Ethnographic Museum, the former School of Agriculture, and the hill behind the new Turkish Parliament building. Both the Atatürk Model Farm and the Youth Park were seen as inappropriate because of the many adjacent nightclubs, tea gardens, and similar amusement facilities, which were thought to detract from the seriousness of a mausoleum. Altındağ Hill was seen as too steep to accommodate large numbers of visitors comfortably. The former School of Agriculture was dismissed as being too far out of Ankara, while conversely the Ministries District was rejected as too central to allow adequate security. The hill behind the new Turkish Parliament building was simply labeled inappropriate, without any further explanation. The Ankara Castle was associated with the undesirable pre-Republican past, as detailed in the Site Selection Committee's statement:

The Ankara Castle represents the past and all its peculiarities. This castle was constructed by the Byzantines and enlarged by the Seljuks. Atatürk, who is the savior of the Turkish nation and founder of the Republic of Turkey, started a new era. He represents the future of the Turkish nation rather than its past. Thus, it is not appropriate to bury Atatürk in a historical and old memorial, which has completed its mission. He himself is a value. He does not need any other historical support.²²

Çankaya Hill, the location of the Presidential Palace, was favored by most Turkish MPs because Atatürk spent most of his life there, either as the leader of the Turkish War of Independence or as president of the republic. A 1942 report in the Turkish Prime Ministry Archives, signed by MPs F. R. Altay (Ankara), Ferit Güven (İçel) and Selah Cimcoz (Istanbul), strongly recommended Çankaya:

Atatürk did not separate from Çankaya his whole life. Çankaya dominates the city from every direction and is inseparably connected with and is an inseparable part of the National Struggle, the founding of the State and the memories of our revolutions. It is a suitable place to build the best monument. In short, it possesses all the [correct] spiritual and physical conditions. After Atatürk's death, we see no justification for his separation from Çankaya.²³

Despite these strong feelings, a hill called Rasattepe (Observation Hill), which was not in the original list of proposed

sites, was chosen as the location for Atatürk's mausoleum.²⁴ In 1940s Ankara, long before the rapid expansion of the city to the west and northwest in the 1970s and 1980s, this hill could be seen from everywhere. The first sentence of a recent Anıtkabir official guide book puts it this way: "Anıtkabir is right in the middle of Ankara."²⁵

The committee presented its report to parliament, and during the discussion of the proposal, an additional reason for Rasattepe was argued by Balıkesir MP Süreyya Örgüven:

Rasattepe has another characteristic that will deeply impress everyone. The shape of the present and future Ankara ranging from Dikmen to Etlik reminds [one] of the shape of a crescent while Rasattepe is like a star in the center. Ankara is the body of the crescent. If Atatürk's Mausoleum [were] placed on this hill, we would embed Atatürk in the center of the crescent of our flag. Thus the capital of Turkey would embrace Atatürk. Atatürk [would] be symbolically unified with our flag.²⁶

The evocation of the most basic national symbol, the Turkish flag with its moon and star, embodied as the city of Ankara with Atatürk's mausoleum at its physical and spiritual center, was potent. Örgüven introduced the notion that Anıtkabir was not only about Atatürk the man, but also about Atatürk as a symbol of the body politic. After Örgüven spoke, the İçel MP Emin İnankur, a former teacher of Atatürk, recounted a visit to Rasattepe one day with Atatürk, who supposedly said, "What a suitable hill for a monument."²⁷ This brought the discussion to an end, and Rasattepe was chosen by the MPs.

Rasattepe was an ancient Phrygian tumulus (earth-mound), and it was excavated before the construction of Atatürk's mausoleum. These excavations, carried out in 1943–44, yielded many significant pre-Ottoman archaeological finds, most of which went to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, the institution founded by the early Republic of Turkey and charged with collecting its archaeological heritage. The finds helped to advance the agenda of the Turkish Historical Society, a government institution created under the patronage of Atatürk, which since 1932 had been promoting the Turkish History Thesis. The thesis proposed the existence of a pre-Ottoman ethnic group called the "Turks," and suggested that modern Turks descended from a branch of the nomadic Oğuz Turks who migrated from Central Asia to India, China, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and even into Europe, populating almost the entire known world.²⁸

The Republic of Turkey thus theorized that its citizens were the descendants of the ancient Anatolian Hittite,

Phrygian, and Lydian civilizations, reinforcing the claim to territory that it made following the War of Independence. The location of Rasattepe provided not only physical material to reinforce this mythical history, it also provided metaphorical material; Atatürk, father of the Turks, would find his final resting place on top of Phrygian civilization, metaphorically and literally.

The Architectural Competition

An international competition for the design of Atatürk's mausoleum was announced on 1 March 1941. The entries were to architecturally represent the man Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as well as the nation of Turkey. Guidelines 1, 3, and 5 of the competition brief, written by the Ministry of Public Works, conveyed the symbolic role that the monument was expected to play:

(1) Atatürk, who lives in the heart of the great Turkish people, founded a new Turkey. On 10 November 1938, the Turkish Nation, with a most sincere grief and indebtedness, bowed in respect in front of the coffin of Atatürk, who left behind a material existence and moved on to the eternal and immortal world. Anıtkabir, which will assign the works of this great man, who lives in the heart of every Turk, to eternity and which will [also] express all of the power of the Turkish heart's loyalty to its Father with grandeur, should be prepared according to the principles below. . . .

(3) This monument will be a symbol of the capabilities, great power, and sovereign qualities of Atatürk as soldier Mustafa Kemal, President Gazi M. Kemal, great politician, scholar, thinker, and finally creative genius, in line with his personality. . . .

(5) The Turkish Nation has been symbolized by Atatürk's name and personality. Those who wish to show respect and honor to the Turkish Nation will express these feelings by also bowing in front of Atatürk's tomb. In this way, all visitors to Ankara will perform this honoring duty by going straight to Ata[türk]'s tomb.²⁹

The Turkish government not only listed the physical requirements for Atatürk's mausoleum, but also the psychological requirements: it explicitly linked the life and death of Atatürk with the Republic of Turkey. This was to be expressed with grandeur, magnificence, and monumentality. Specific guidelines were also given for the main element of the mausoleum, the Hall of Honor:

(14) The Hall of Honor, because it includes Ata[türk]'s tomb, will constitute the fundamental place and spirit of this monument. Although this hall will primarily be for the whole of the Turkish

nation created by the great Ata[türk], at the same time it will be a large hall where representatives of foreign states may pay their respects to our nation by directing themselves toward Ata[türk]'s tomb. This hall will be large enough to hold at least 250 visitors at once. The grandeur, magnificence and power sought in this hall has been left to the competitors [and] no consideration about the hall's shape, dimensions and height has been put forward.³⁰

The architectural competition closed on 2 March 1942 and the jury met for eight days, from 12 to 20 March, a relatively long period to judge the some fifty entries.³¹ Half of the entries were from Turkey, but notable participation came from Axis and Nazi-occupied states, despite wartime conditions: eleven from Germany, nine from Italy, and one each from Austria, France, and Czechoslovakia. One entry from neutral Switzerland was also received. The competition jury was chaired by Paul Bonatz (architect, Germany), and consisted of Ivar Tengbom (state architect, Switzerland), Karoly Wichinger (architect, Hungary), Arif Hikmet Holtay (artist, Turkey), Muammer Çavuşoğlu (Ministry of Public Works architect, Turkey), and Muhlis Sertel (Ankara planning director). Although neither a National Socialist Party member nor Nazi sympathizer, Bonatz did possess a conservative attitude toward architecture, favoring the monumentality and stripped-down classicism of German architecture at that time, as seen in his Stuttgart Train Station (1922–27) and Basel Art Museum (1936).³² It is unclear whether or not the other two foreign architects and three Turkish jury members had similar aesthetic views, and whether differences were the reason for the extended deliberations.

The jury short-listed eight entries.³³ From these, three were chosen to receive first prizes of 3,000 Turkish liras each (about \$30,000 today): Johannes Krüger (Germany), Arnaldo Foschini (Italy), and the team of Emin Onat and Orhan Arda (Turkey).³⁴ The other five short-listed entries were awarded honorable mention prizes of 1,000 Turkish liras each (about \$10,000 today). All entries were on public view in the Ankara Exhibition Building 24–31 March 1942. These eight prize-winning entries and six more were published in the Turkish journal *Arkitekt* and the Italian *Architettura*. (they were also reproduced in the catalog of the 1984 exhibition of the entries at Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul).³⁵ The competition jury report described sixteen of the remaining thirty-three known entries without illustrations.³⁶ In response to the competition brief written by the Turkish government, all known entries attempted to not only architecturally represent the man Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, but also the nation of Turkey. The entries were quite varied in their imagery, drawing on a wide range of sources from

ancient to modern times and from Eastern to Western civilizations, regardless of the nationality of the competitor.

The competition entries must be understood, however, within the context of architectural culture in Turkey around 1942. Since the founding of the republic in 1923, Turkish architecture was alternately influenced by internationalism and nationalism. During the early years of the nation, the First National Style (the style of the Ethnographic Museum, where Atatürk's temporary tomb was located) was prevalent. In the late 1920s, this attempt to update or modernize Ottoman architectural forms was abandoned in favor of a more Western, future-oriented outlook, which paralleled reforms taking place in other cultural and social areas. These reforms included the abolition of the Sultanate (1922), the banning the fez and veil (1925), the replacement of the lunar by the solar calendar (1925), the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code (1926), and the replacement of Arabic script with Latin letters (1928).

In the early 1930s the Turkish government began to invite foreign experts to give advice and assistance, especially in architecture, city planning, and engineering, for its large number of developmental and educational projects. During the 1930s alone, approximately forty German, Austrian, and Swiss architects came to work in Turkey. In addition to Bruno Taut, other famous names included Martin Wagner (1885–1957), Ernst Egli (1893–1974), Martin Elsaesser (1884–1957), and Clemens Holzmeister (1886–1983). These foreigners introduced to Turkey modernism in architecture and planning and radically transformed the way that architecture was taught and practiced, in the same way that it had been reshaped in Europe. The Cubic Style, as the International Style was known in Turkey, soon became prevalent, since it represented a forward-looking attitude.

However, Turkish architects and the Turkish government soon began to question this foreign involvement and influence. It is within this context that a 1934 law about the organization and responsibilities of the Ministry of Public Works directed, "The Ministry will see to it that a Turkish architectural style is developed in order to maintain a certain uniformity [in the built environment]."³⁷ In the early 1940s Sedat Hakki Eldem, a 1928 graduate of the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts who had worked with modernists Auguste Perret and Hans Poelzig before returning to Turkey in 1932, began to offer a course at his alma mater (today, Mimar Sinan University) entitled the "National Architecture Seminar." Partly a reaction against the foreign influences of the 1930s, and strongly influenced by the nationalist feelings of the young republic, Eldem's seminar investigated the traditional architectural forms of Turkey,

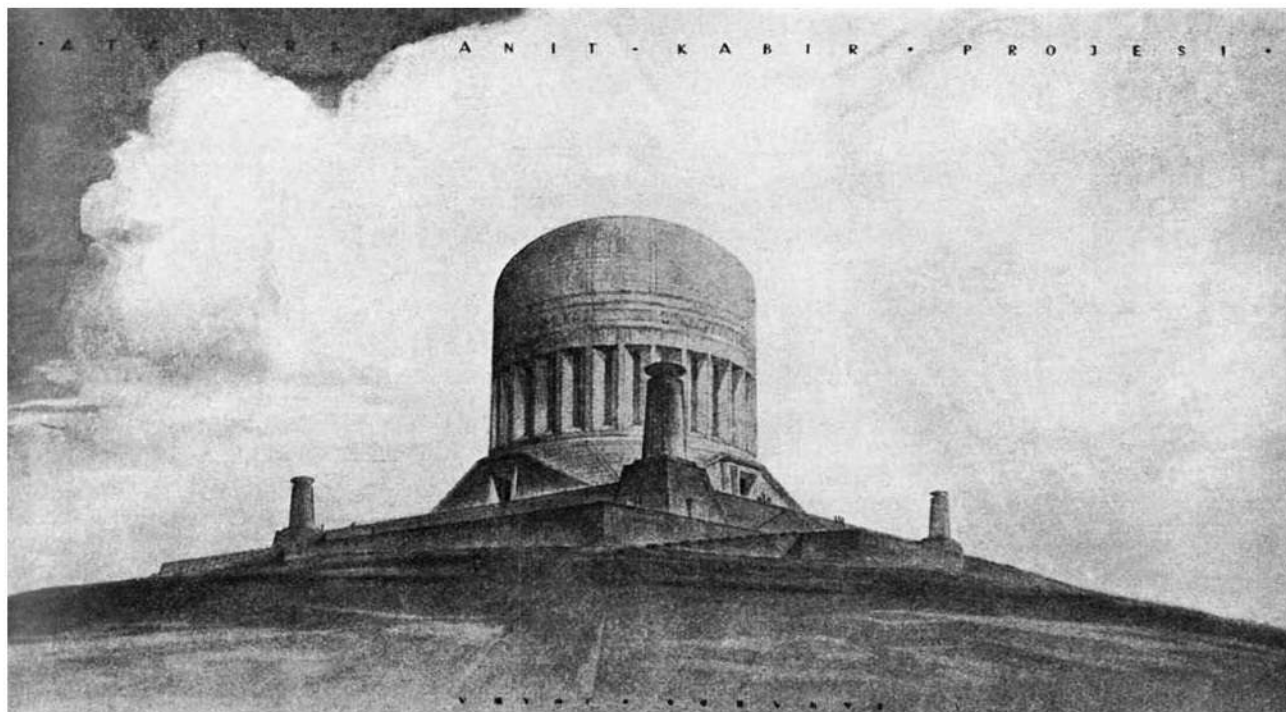


Figure 6 Anitkabir competition entry by Sedad Hakkı Eldem



Figure 7 Left: Zeynel Bey Mausoleum, Mardin, Turkey (1550); right: Kharaghan Tomb, Qazvin province, Iran (1067)



Figure 8 Left: Halime Hatun Tomb, Gevaş, Turkey (1335); right: Hüdavend Hatun Tomb, Niğde, Turkey (1312)

particularly the wood-framed and bay-windowed Ottoman house, which was now renamed the “Turkish house.” In 1940 Eldem published a manifesto in *Arkitekt* entitled “Toward a Local Architecture,”³⁸ and *Plan Types of Turkish Houses* appeared in 1954, illustrating the case studies he and his students compiled.³⁹ Eldem’s work is part of the canon that has been come to be called the Second National Style, which embraced the modern use of historical forms, local materials, and vernacular building traditions.⁴⁰ These buildings include the Istanbul University Faculty of Sciences and

Letters (1942), with Emin Onat (winner of the Anıtkabir competition); Ankara University Faculty of Sciences (1943), again with Onat; and the Taşlık Coffee House (1948).

It is no surprise that Eldem’s entry for the Anıtkabir competition was a rather plain cylindrical structure highly reminiscent of the Seljuk-style Kharaghan Tombs (1067–1093) in Iran and the Zeynel Bey Mausoleum (1550) near Mardin, Turkey (Figures 6, 7).

Mausoleum and tomb architecture, although discouraged in Islam, had a long history in Türkic culture.⁴¹ The

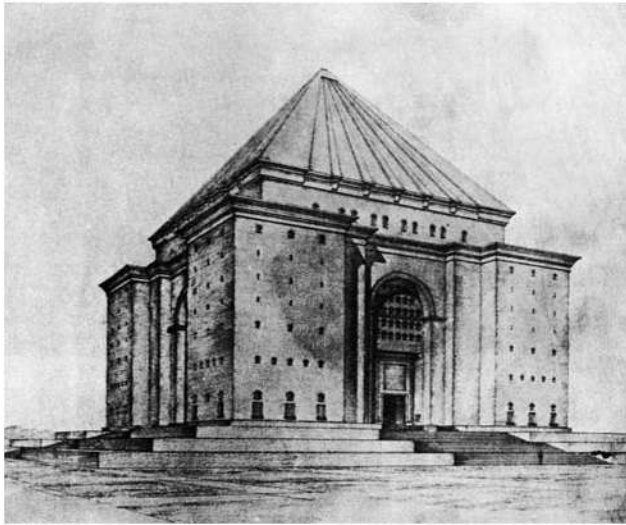


Figure 9 Anıtkabir competition entry by H. K. Söylemezoğlu, Kemal Ahmet Aru, and Recai Akçay (exterior)

Seljuk Turks of Iran developed a type of tomb called a *kiımbet* or *kiımbed* (tomb tower or vault), which they took into present-day Iraq and as far west as Anatolia. Perhaps derived from the shape of Seljuk tents, the form consisted of a circular, octagonal, or twelve-sided cylinder supported by a square base and topped with either a conical or pyramidal roof (Figure 8).⁴² Early examples were built from brick that was often laid in elaborate patterns, including calligraphy or other intricate designs (Figure 7). Later examples were built from cut-stone and decorated with *muqarnas* vaults and cornices (Figure 8).

Eldem updated this *kiımbet* tradition in his competition entry, not merely recreating its past forms. Proponents of the Second National Style, as described by Sibel Bozdoğan, were modernists trying to reconcile the past with the future, not nostalgists pining for the good old days of Ottoman architecture: “at a time when national sentiments and statist policies were strong everywhere, they [Turkish architects] embarked on a program of ‘nationalizing the modern,’ which meant showing the compatibility between Turkish building traditions and the rationalist precepts of modern architecture.”⁴³ The magazine *Arkitekt* interpreted the massing effect and expression of Eldem’s entry as “completely Turkish,” firmly aligning with the ideology of the Second National Style that was favored by its editor, architect Zeki Sayar (1905–2001).⁴⁴ *Arkitekt*, originally published as *Mimar* between 1931 and 1935, was founded by Sayar and fellow architects Abidin Mortaş and Ziya Kozanoğlu, but Sayar maintained the magazine between 1941 and 1980. His aim, as explained in his obituary, was to promote the

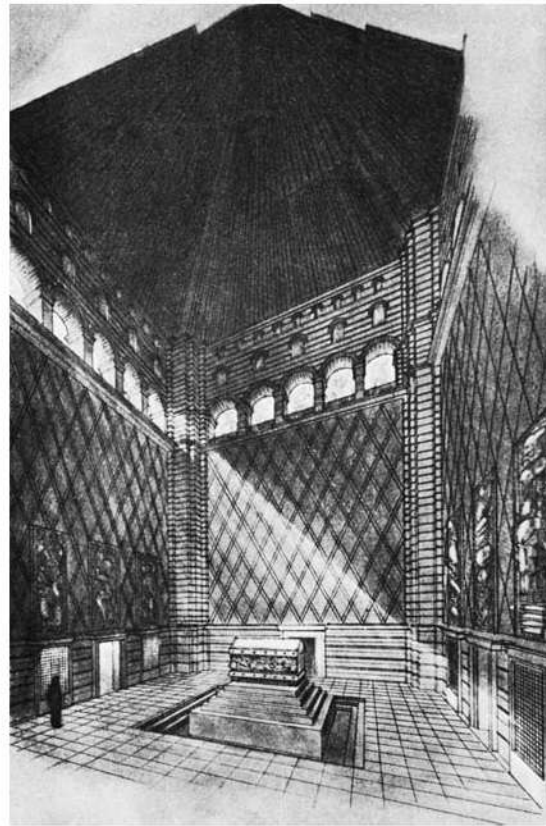


Figure 10 Anıtkabir competition entry by Söylemezoğlu, Aru, and Akçay (interior)

work of Turkish architects to the Turkish state, which was the largest architectural client until well into the 1970s.⁴⁵ Sayar apparently sent complimentary copies of the magazine to the offices of all local municipalities and provincial governors, seeking to obtain work for Turkish architects. More importantly, however, the magazine brought a professional and aesthetic consciousness to Turkish architectural culture, which included its endorsement of the Second National Style in the 1940s.

In contrast to the favorable comments in *Arkitekt*, the Anıtkabir competition jury commented that Eldem’s “dome shape with the base corners cut out is not an appropriate form according to the judges.”⁴⁶ This prejudice against a proposal that hinted at a traditional *kiımbet* (or for that matter, any dome or rounded roof) was not surprising for a jury headed by the architecturally conservative German architect Paul Bonatz.

Like Eldem’s submission, a group entry by Turkish architects H. Kemali Söylemezoğlu, Kemal Ahmet Aru, and Recai Akçay was also suggestive of a *kiımbet* (Figures 9, 10; see Figure 8). *Arkitekt* again indicated its commitment to the Second

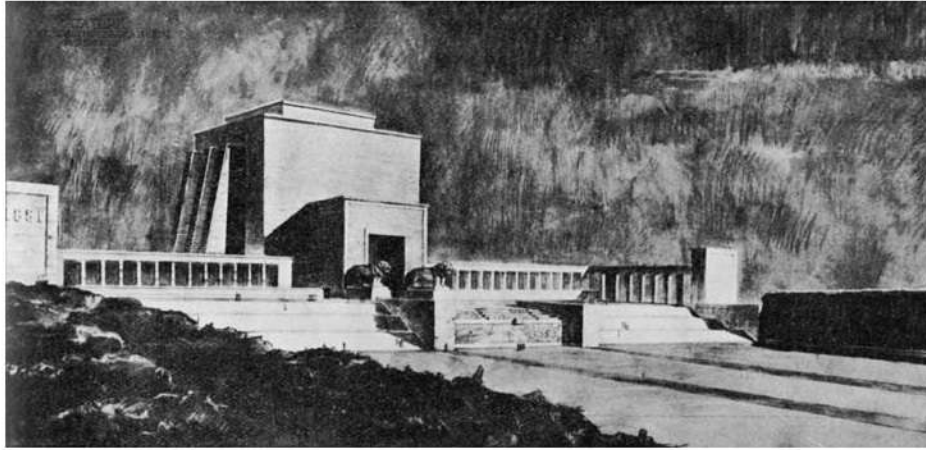


Figure 11 Anıtkabir competition entry by Necmi Ateş

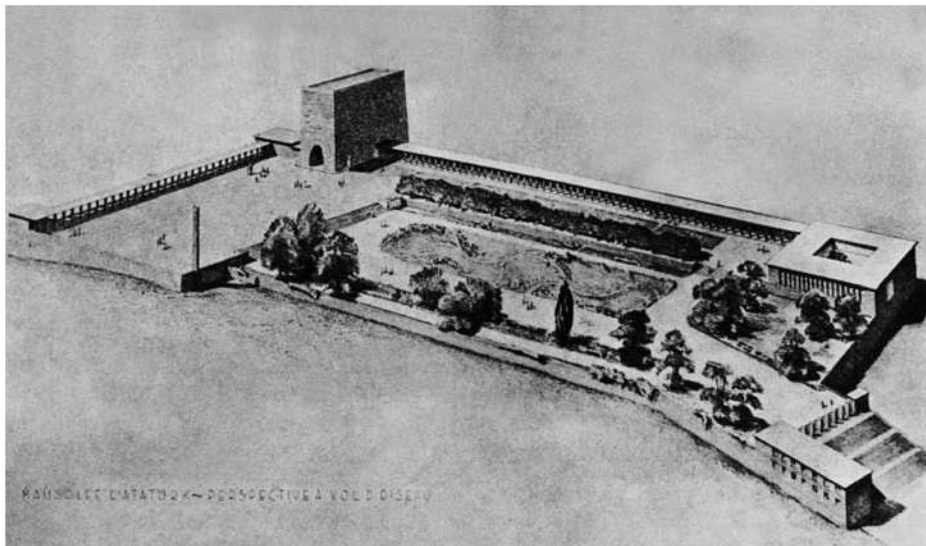


Figure 12 Anıtkabir competition entry by Roland Rohn

National Style by praising this design as “the closest of all competition entries to the character of Turkish Architecture.”⁴⁷ In contrast, the competition jury, while awarding an honorable mention, complained that although the design was strongly expressive, it looked too much like a castle.⁴⁸ This critique must be read in conjunction with the Anıtkabir site selection committee’s comments regarding the inappropriateness of the Ankara Castle for the mausoleum. The interior was also praised by *Arkitekt*, which commented that “the inside of this project addresses our national feelings.”⁴⁹ The sarcophagus structure in the middle of the interior evoked the tomb of Cyrus the Great (576–529 BC), founder of the Persian Empire under the Achaemenid dynasty. In this way, both the interior and exterior borrowed imagery from “Eastern” or Islamic sources.

Another Turkish entry to utilize Eastern vocabulary was the work of Necmi Ateş, whose design was supported by six buttresses, three on each side of the main block (Fig-

ure 11), an arrangement described by *Arkitekt* as symbolizing the six “principles of the [Turkish] Republic” (Republicanism, Secularism, Nationalism, Populism, Statism, and Revolutionism).⁵⁰ Such symbolism had been explicitly recommended in Item 16 of the competition brief:

(16) Moreover, the six principles of the People’s Republican Party founded by Atatürk have been given as the symbol and program of today’s modern Turkey and represented on the party’s flag . . . [I]t has been left to the competitors where they see these six symbols suitable on Ata[türk]’s tomb or in any appropriate place/location to symbolize the required representation.⁵¹

Arkitekt favored Ateş’s project very much, assigning it three pages of coverage, while the winning submission from Onat and Arda only received two pages. Sibel Bozdoğan has likened Ateş’s entry to “Egyptian temples mixed with Hittite symbols,”⁵² but it is much closer to Sumerian examples like

the White Temple at Uruk (3000 BC), the Ziggurat at Ur (2000 BC), with some influence from the ancient Egyptian mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut (1550 BC). Whatever the sources, historical reference clearly pleased the editors of *Arkitekt*. Again diverging from *Arkitekt*'s opinions, the competition jury did not award any prize to this entry and commented that while its silhouette made a good impression, the six buttresses were not integrated with the rest of the design.⁵³

A non-Turkish entry that also evoked ancient Egyptian models came from Swiss architect Roland Rohn (Figure 12). His main hall was a mastaba-like rectangular block, and the columned walkways and colonnaded museum block of the proposal resembled ancient Egyptian columnar architecture, particularly those in the Deir el-Bahri complex near Luxor (2000–1200 BC). All of the independent parts to Rohn's entry created a non-unified impression. *Arkitekt* did not mention Rohn's name—simply dismissing the “project from a Swiss architect”—that lacked grandeur and a monumental impression.⁵⁴ This opinion was seconded by the competition jury, which, despite awarding an honorable mention, called the mausoleum portion of Rohn's project “humble.”⁵⁵

A Turkish entry from Selim Benar, Rahmi Bediz, and Demirtaş Kamçıl combined the Turkic *kiûmbet* and Egyptian imagery (Figure 13). The base of their pyramidal proposal, however, was not square but hexagonal, its six sides possibly symbolizing the six pillars of Kemalism. Commenting on the entry's pyramidal outline, *Arkitekt* observed that it “possessed an effect inspired by very old architectural monuments.”⁵⁶ The competition jury complained that its sharp-pointed form, although “simultaneously decorative in a modern way and reminiscent of historical tombs and graves,” was not “representative of the kind of things needed for a memorial tomb for Atatürk.”⁵⁷

A pyramidal form was also utilized by the Italian architect Giovanni Muzio (Figure 14). His pyramid, like that of the Benar team entry, was hexagonal, and *Arkitekt* similarly commented that ancient monuments and tombs inspired the submission, an approach consistent with funerary architecture that Muzio had previously designed (such as the Tadini Tomb in Bergamo, Italy, 1932).⁵⁸ The jury also favored Muzio's entry, asserting somewhat mysteriously that “it was a form independent of time,” and they awarded it an honorable mention.⁵⁹

Another non-Turkish entry utilizing a pyramidlike form came from the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister (Figure 15). Its ribbed cone with curved sides resembled Benar's ribbed pyramid, starkly contrasting the more rectangular or “Viennese cubic” style of his Turkish Grand National Assembly Building—for which he won the competition five years

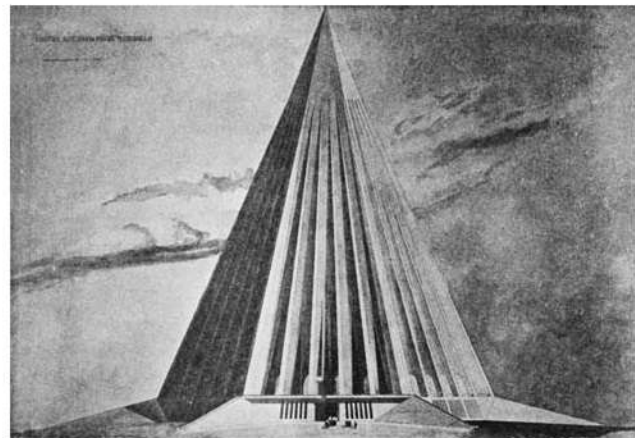


Figure 13 Anitkabir competition entry by Selim Benar, Rahmi Bediz, and Demirtaş Kamçıl

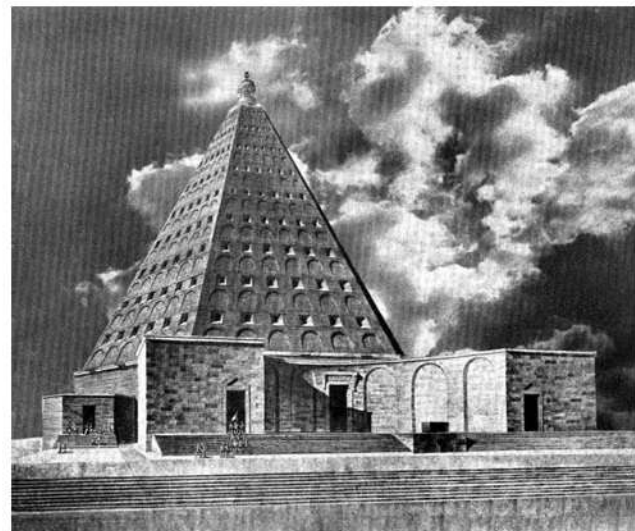


Figure 14 Anitkabir competition entry by Giovanni Muzio

earlier—and his many other projects in Ankara and in Europe.⁶⁰ It was the opinion of the nationalist-minded *Arkitekt* that the design should have contained more “classic principles of details found on monuments” and it criticized the entry for being too expressionistic and not grounded enough in historical precedents.⁶¹ In contrast, the competition jury commented favorably that the entry was “the most professional of the entire competition,” but they concluded that the project “did not appear to seriously give an answer to the subject of monumentality.”⁶²

In contrast to these entries inspired by “Eastern,” Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Islamic imagery (Eldem, Söylemezoğlu, Ateş, Rohn, Benar, Muzio, and Holzmeister), the remaining seven documented entries to the

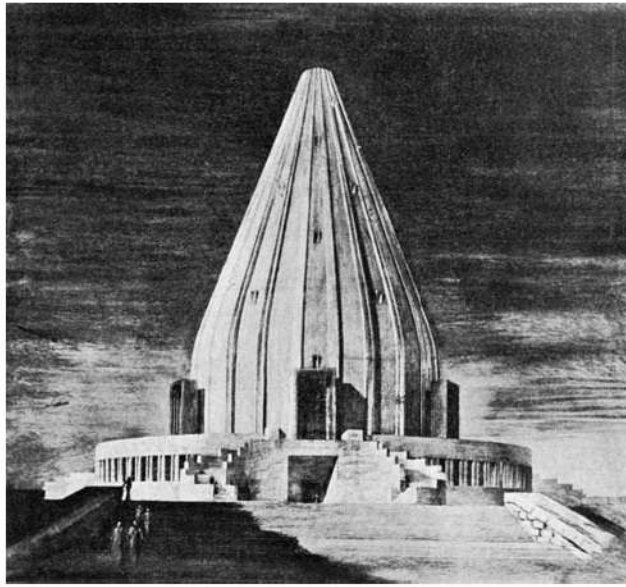


Figure 15 Anıtkabir competition entry by Clemens Holzmeister

Anıtkabir competition evoked Western architectural imagery, funerary or other. This included the winning entry by Turkish architects Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, which will be discussed in the next section.

The entries from Johannes Krüger and Arnaldo Foschini, which shared first prize with the Onat-Arda team but were not chosen to be built, adopted two different periods of European architectural history as their models. Krüger's design was a mixture of forms (Figures 16, 17). Its octagonal corner towers, alternating bands of dark- and light-colored stone, and round arch are simultaneously reminiscent of medieval castles, Byzantine chapels, and Romanesque cathedrals. Despite the lack of the national or regional currents that it admired, *Arkitekt* commented positively: "Architect J. Krüger's project is a strong work. Although the exterior architecture possesses a slightly brutal effect, the interior architecture is rich."⁶³ The competition jury was most impressed with the proposal's "clear and effective sil-

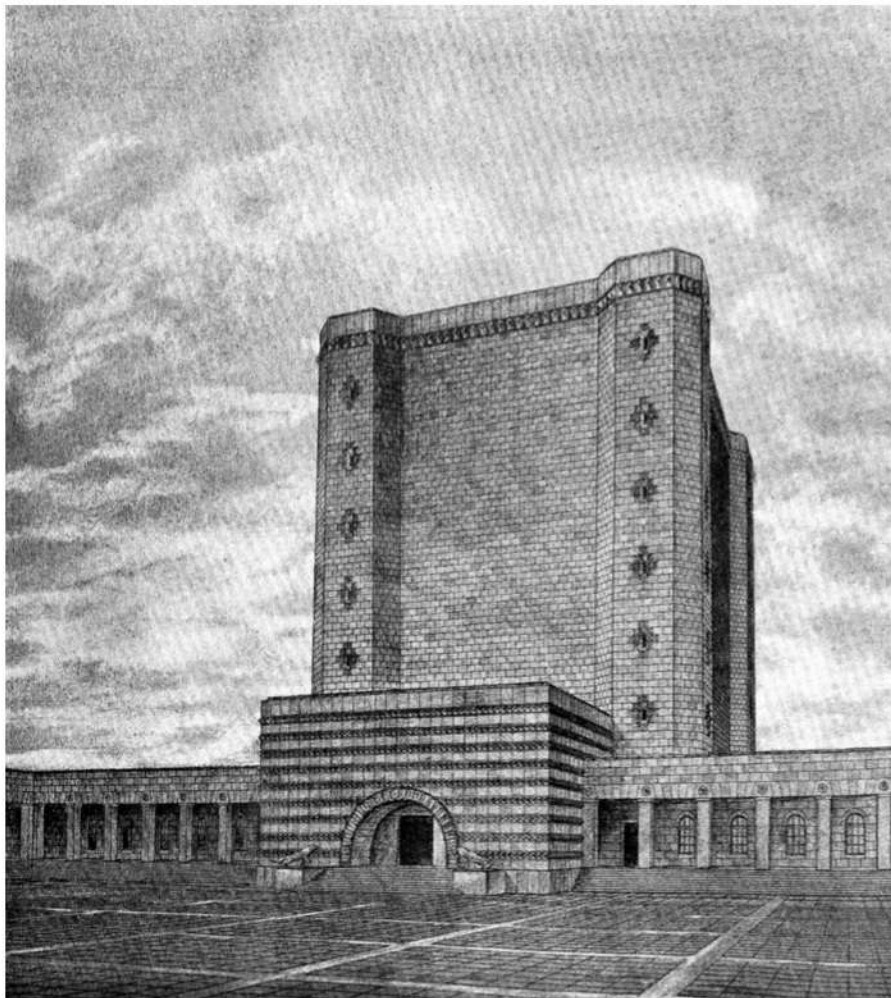


Figure 16 Anıtkabir competition entry by Johannes Krüger (exterior)

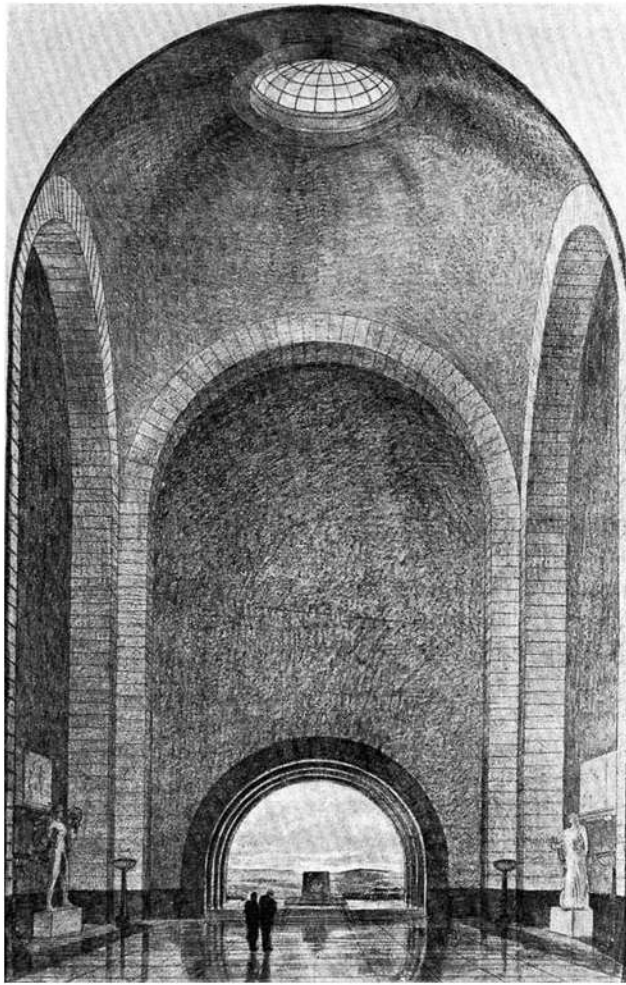


Figure 17 Anıtkabir competition entry by Johannes Krüger (interior)

houette” and “its plain view from afar,” but they commented that the mixture of styles on the outside “did not present a homogeneity.”⁶⁴ Krüger’s design was very similar in form and proportion to another funerary building he designed with his brother, the Tannenberg National Monument, in Hohenstein, German East Prussia (now Olsztyn, Poland), 1924–27, whose circular grouping of octagonal towers evoked Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II’s Castel del Monte, Apulia, Italy (ca. 1250).⁶⁵ In Krüger’s designs for both the Tannenberg monument and Atatürk’s mausoleum, towers set off a ceremonial precinct from the surrounding countryside.⁶⁶

Unlike Krüger’s medievalism, Foschini’s design evoked the architecture of ancient Rome (Figures 18, 19). In its placement, massing, and decoration, the project is very similar in to the stripped classicism of early-twentieth-century Italian architecture, particularly the monuments to Italian

soldiers fallen in World War I, like the *Sacrario Militare di Asiago* (Orpheo Rossato, 1936). Foschini’s project was decorated with applied reliefs and inscriptions both on the façade and in the domed interior. *Arkitekt* criticized this decoration on cultural grounds, complaining that “the interior carries the spirit of a church” and that it “forms a contrast to Turkish and Islamic essence/soul.”⁶⁷ The European-led competition jury did not make such a cultural argument, but they did comment that “the interior was worthy of a little more plainness.”⁶⁸

Krüger’s decoration, in contrast to Foschini’s, was simpler and more integral to the design, consisting of alternating bands of colored brickwork, diamond shaped openings, and statues of lions. Both Foschini’s and Krüger’s designs were massive, rectangular structures that contained domed memorial chambers, but whose domes were invisible from the outside. *Arkitekt* stated that the domes—although concealed—evoked religious overtones, whether Christian or Islamic, and this may have run afoul of the strict secularist ideology of the Republic of Turkey.⁶⁹ Both entries were rejected by the Turkish Parliament in favor of the design by Onat and Arda.

A Turkish entry that, like Foschini’s, evoked the architecture of ancient Rome was the group submission from M. Ali Handan and Feridun Akozan (Figure 20). Quite simple in its massing, this proposal, which received an honorable mention from the competition jury, resembled a Roman triumphal arch, albeit without the smaller side arches. Although *Arkitekt* found this entry to be “inventive,” it was criticized for being “primitive and out of proportion” with the large site.⁷⁰ The magazine provided only one page of coverage, although it devoted two or three pages to the other award winners. The competition jury dryly but more positively commented that “the entry’s slightly angled walls and plainness made a favorable impression,” again indicating the preference of the competition jury for simpler massing and less decoration and regional symbolism than the editorial staff of *Arkitekt*.⁷¹

Two Italian submissions, one from the team of Giuseppe Vaccaro and Gino Franzi and the other from Adalberto Libera, both resemble Roman sarcophagi enlarged to the size of buildings (Figures 21, 22). Vaccaro generally favored such large, sculptural forms for funerary architecture, as evidenced in his Goldoni Tomb, Bologna. For that tomb, like in his Anıtkabir entry, Vaccaro created a massive, abstract block whose only decoration was the sculptural treatment of the upper part. In the introduction to the issue of *Arkitekt* that displayed all the prize-winning competition entries, the editors derogatorily commented that the “architects Vaccaro and Franzi have not satisfied us in any way with their project.”⁷² The magazine published only a half-page of pictures, accompanied by this critical remark: “This project, instead of a seri-

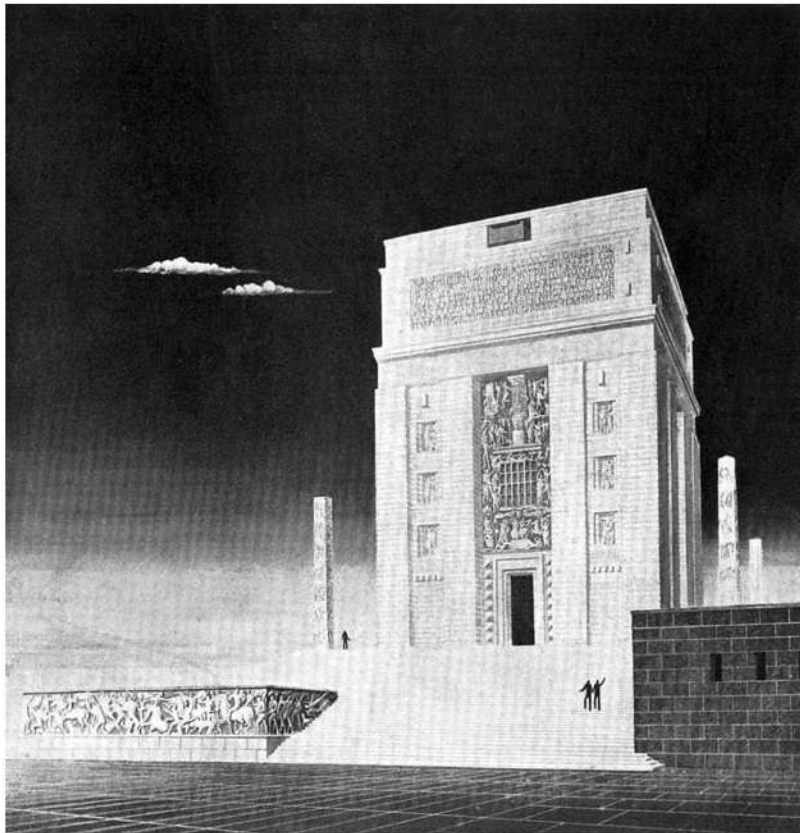


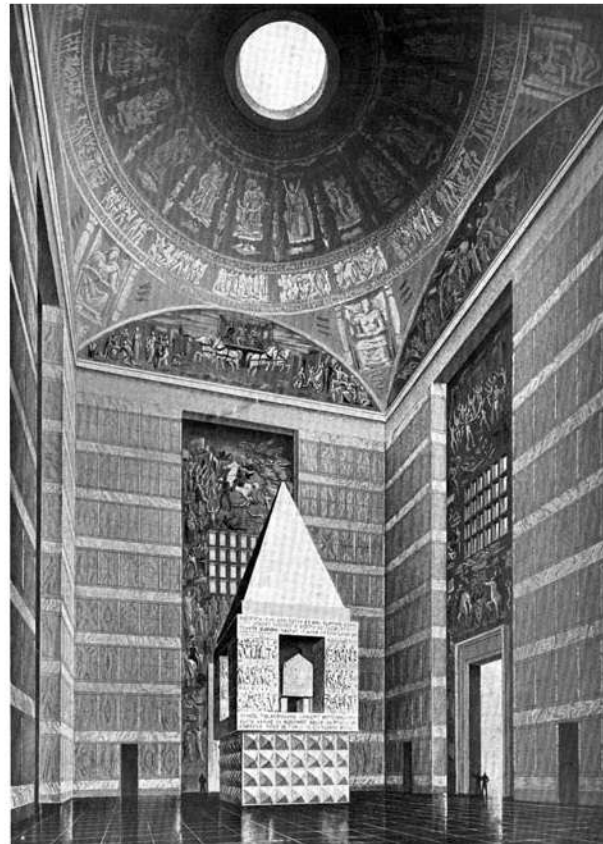
Figure 18 Anitkabir competition entry by Arnaldo Foschini (exterior)

Figure 19 Anitkabir competition entry by Foschini (interior)

ous and classic effect, has a decorative interior architecture and necessitates an unusual, totally unneeded and difficult construction method.”⁷³ While the competition jury also questioned the method of construction and the fact that the underground museum would receive no sunlight, it did not criticize the symbolism of a giant sarcophagus and awarded the entry an honorable mention.⁷⁴

Arkitekt did not publish the other sarcophagus-like competition entry, submitted by Adalberto Libera, who is best known for his Casa Malaparte on the Island of Capri, but *Architettura* did (see Figure 22).⁷⁵ The competition jury, favoring Western symbolism, commented admiringly that “The silhouette leaves a strong artistic effect . . . The massive wall decorated with pictures or mosaics in the lower part of the interior of the monument and the upright placed tomb make a strong effect.”⁷⁶

The grandeur of ancient Rome was also evoked by the entry of another Italian architect, Paolo Vietti-Violi, designer of the Ankara Hippodrome (1936) and Istanbul İnönü Stadium (1939) (Figure 23). A large cylindrical main hall gave the impression of a greatly enlarged but truncated Roman memorial column like that of Trajan. With its stripped-down classical-columned frontage, the proposal additionally suggested the general feeling of the Pantheon (Figure 24).



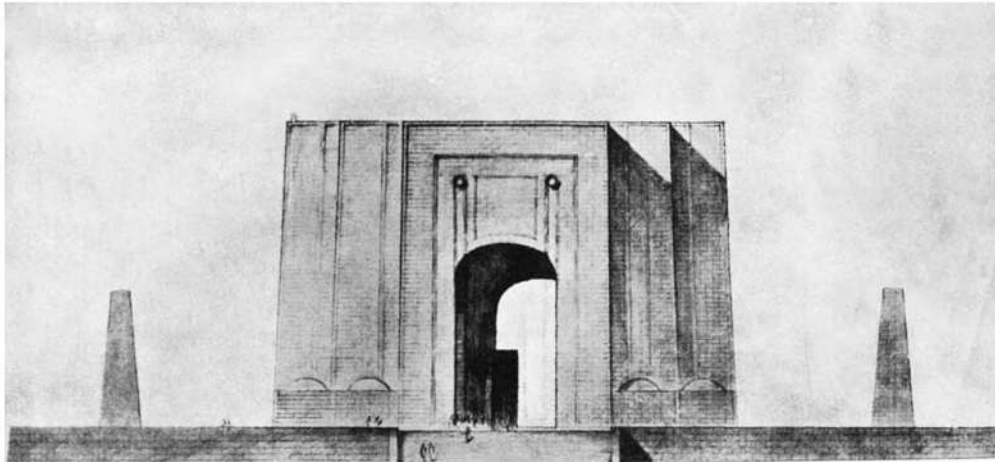


Figure 20 Anıtkabir competition entry by M. Ali Handan and Feridun Akozan

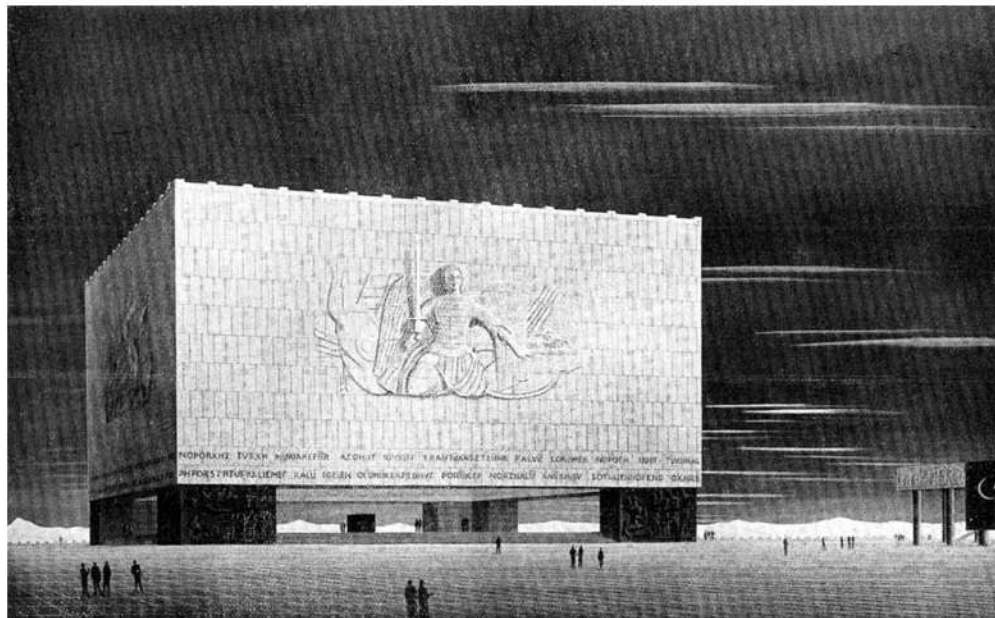


Figure 21 Anıtkabir competition entry by Giuseppe Vaccaro and Gino Franzì

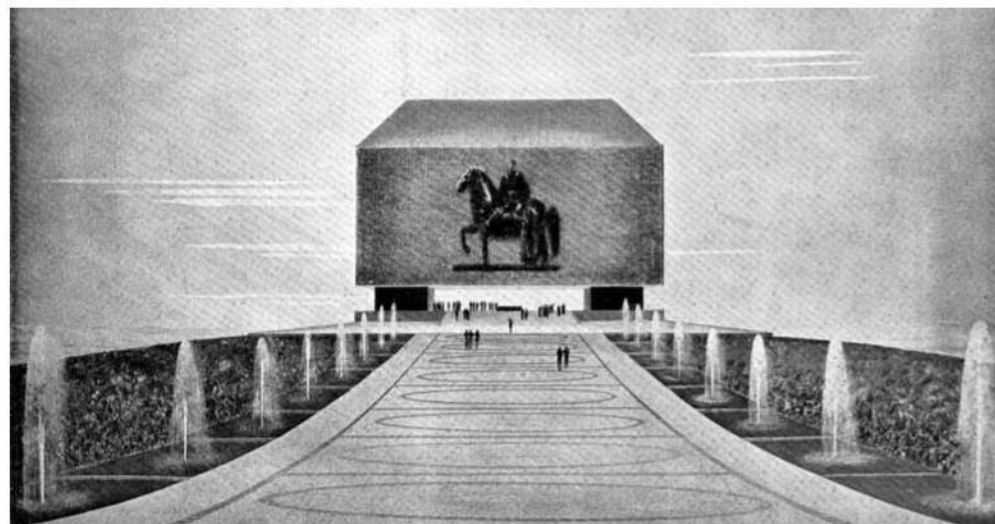


Figure 22 Anıtkabir competition entry by Adalberto Libera



Figure 23 Anıtkabir competition entry by Paolo Vietti-Viola (exterior)

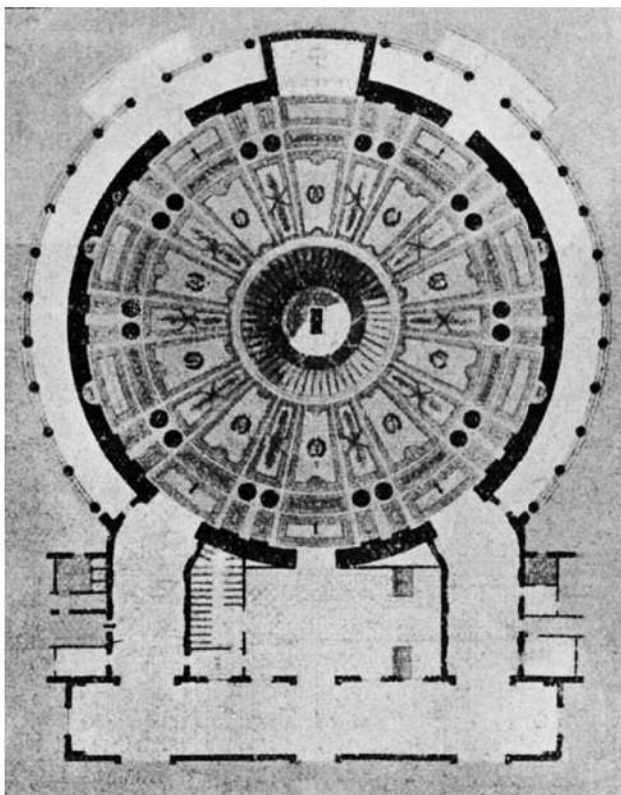


Figure 24 Anıtkabir competition entry by Vietti-Viola (plan)

Arkitekt commented on the awkwardness of this combination of forms: “The result of this [circular] plan is a cylindrical mass. The entry colonnades together with the other annex buildings do not fit with the main mausoleum.”⁷⁷ Despite the evocation of Western imagery, the competition jury was equally disparaging: “If the silhouette of the tower in itself can be seen as acceptable, a non-homogeneous set of buildings adds up to a spoiled view. The long and horizontal building that is joined to this main building creates a foreign and added-on effect . . . There is neither the required repose nor clarity inside or outside the mausoleum. The general position of the commission is that it is decorative rather than serious and monumental.”⁷⁸

The final documented entry that evoked Western imagery, from the famous French architect Auguste Perret, was received late and never seen by the jury (Figure 25). Ironically, Perret was the only architect specifically invited by the Turkish government to submit a proposal.⁷⁹ Perret’s monopteros was set on a large rectilinear base and is highly reminiscent of the mausoleum at Castle Howard, England (Nicholas Hawksmoor, 1729–36). A recent monograph on Perret suggests that the architect had sought to attach Turkish meanings to his Western forms, but these were not recognized, indicating a dangerous difference between intention and reception: “The traditional circular temple, in a certain manner, is abstracted by Perret: the cupola of the mausoleum represents the moon, pointing out

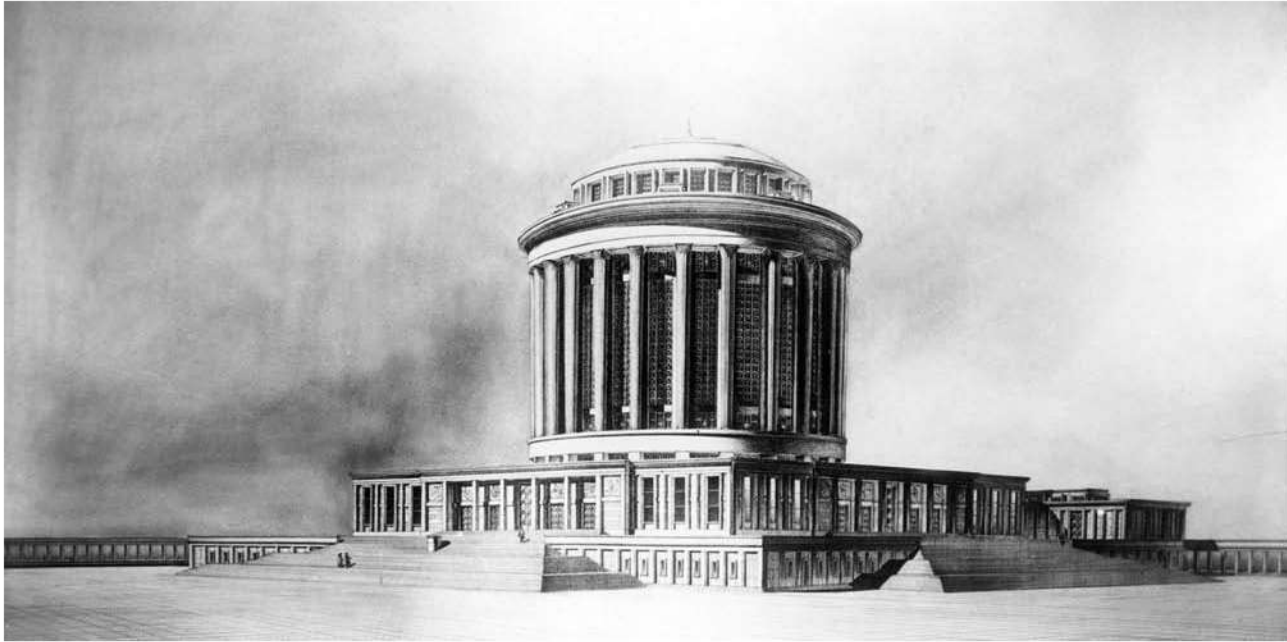


Figure 25 Anıtkabir competition entry by Auguste Perret

the membership of Turkey—although a secular state—to the Islamic world, in effect the synthesis of an antique monument and an Ottoman mosque.”⁸⁰

While neither *Arkitekt* nor the Anıtkabir competition jury explained their aesthetic preferences, their comments reflect opposite attitudes toward the prevalent Second National Style. While this cannot entirely be explained by the fact that the editor of *Arkitekt*, Zeki Sayar, was Turkish and the strong and influential head of the competition jury, Paul Bonatz, was non-Turkish, the architectural culture of the time was a constant debate between national and international values. Bruno Taut, during his 1936–38 stay in Turkey, argued for the merger of traditional and modern forms, and by the time of the Anıtkabir competition in 1941, Sedat Eldem had already set the groundwork for the Second National Style with publications and seminars. Indeed, some scholars believe that Taut’s efforts prepared the ground for the Second National Style that was promoted by Eldem.⁸¹ However, Taut’s ideology was distinguished from Eldem’s by its internationalism: Eldem advocated a “codified, repeatable, recognizable and officially sanctioned national architecture,” which Taut deplored.⁸² In his posthumous *Lectures on Architecture*, Taut famously quoted and agreed with a person only identified as “the Danish writer Hansen,” who said “All good architecture is national” but “all national architecture is bad.”⁸³

One attitude that does find clear expression in the jury report was their preference for stone, although there had been no mention in the competition brief of the mandatory use any material. Throughout their report, the jury made observations like “This project is only possible to be built with reinforced concrete construction,”⁸⁴ “as a building reserved for eternity, making it out of reinforced concrete is not appropriate,”⁸⁵ and “The whole of the construction can only be made from a reinforced concrete skeleton, and on top of this it is practical to cover it with stone.”⁸⁶ At the very end of the report, after jointly awarding first prize to Onat-Arda, Krüger and Foschini, the jury gave specific guidance: “In choosing the cut stone to be used, it is suitable for it to be a slightly lighter color than that of soil color.”⁸⁷ While not favoring historical-looking entries, the jurors favored projects that looked as if they were made of stone, which symbolized permanence better than exposed reinforced concrete.

Anıtkabir as Built

Having shared the first prize among three designers, the Anıtkabir Competition Jury left the final choice to the Turkish Parliament, which announced on 7 May 1942 that the design of Emin Onat and Orhan Arda was the winner (Figures 26–27).⁸⁸

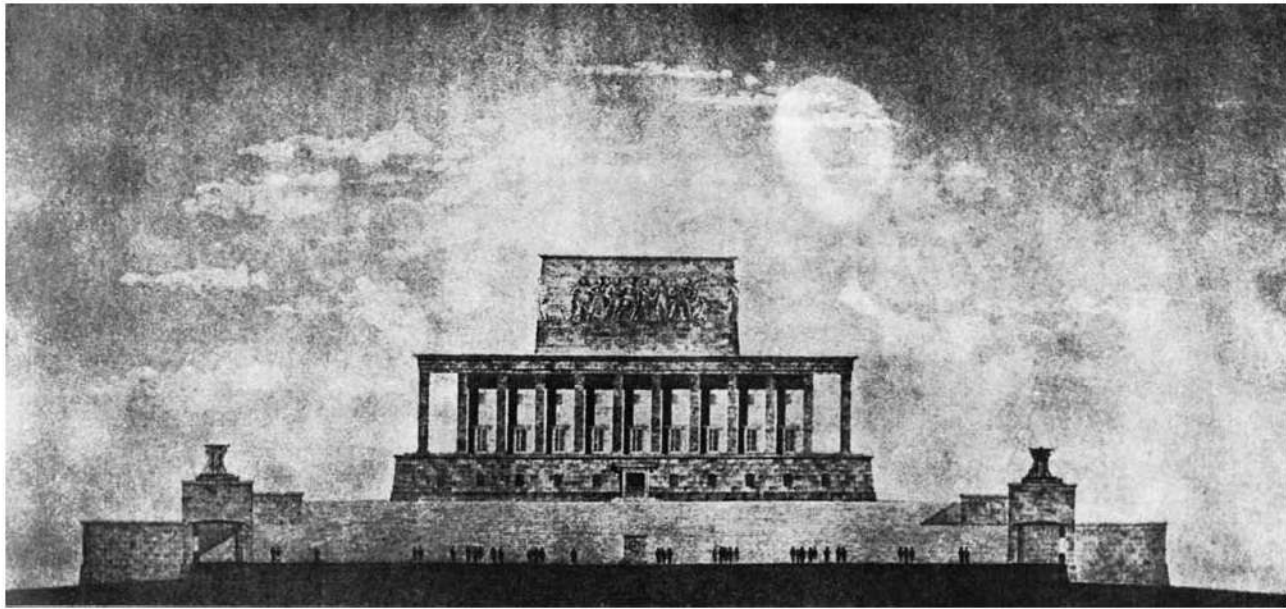


Figure 26 Anıtkabir competition entry by Onat and Arda (exterior)

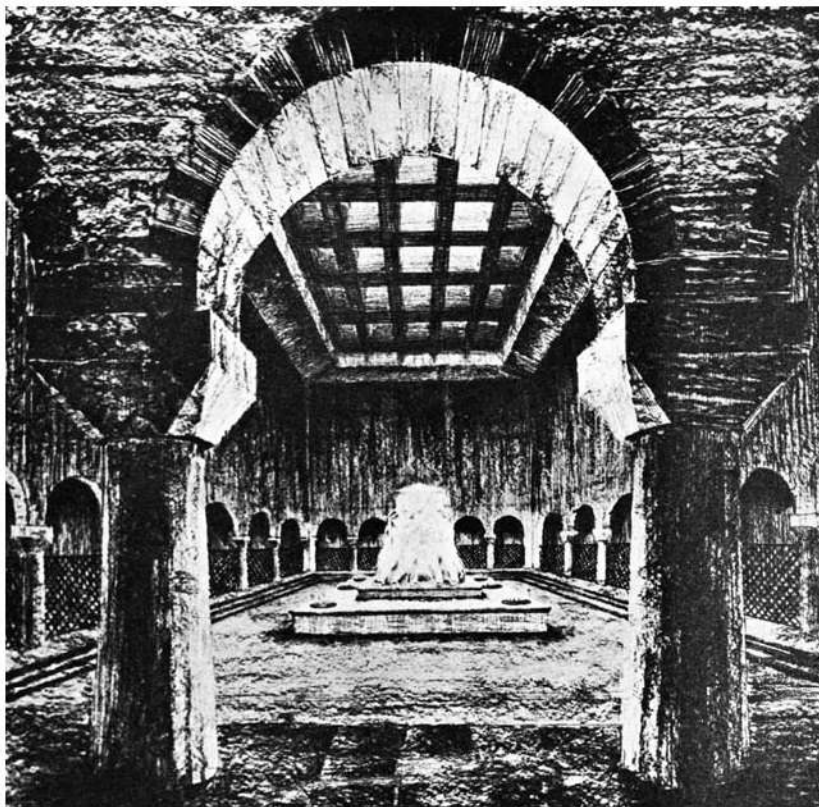


Figure 27 Anıtkabir competition entry by Onat and Arda (interior)

Emin Onat (1908–1961) attended his alma mater from 1926 to 1929 and upon graduation was sent by that institution to the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zürich (ETH) for further study, where he worked under Otto Rudolf Salvisberg (1882–1940). He returned to Turkey in 1934 to work in the architectural department of the Istanbul School of Engineering, becoming professor and department head in 1938, the position he held at the time of winning the competition.⁸⁹ Orhan Arda (1911–1999) graduated from the Istanbul School of Engineering, where he was Onat's student, in 1936. In 1938 he began working as an assistant in the construction department at the same institution, becoming assistant professor in 1939, the position he held at the time of winning the competition.⁹⁰

The Anıtkabir competition jury evaluated all the entries on an anonymous basis. However, the Turkish parliament knew full well the identities of the prize winners. While it is not possible to prove beyond a doubt that the parliament chose the Turkish architects over the German and Italian architects because of their nationality, it seems too much of a coincidence, especially given the many alterations that parliament demanded of Onat and Arda, suggesting that they did not judge the entry to be perfect. Sabiha Güreyman, the site construction architect of Anıtkabir, has explained, "Of the three projects, two of them were from foreign [architects] and one was from two Turkish architects. While the three projects were of the same artistic value, due to the fact that the two Turkish sons' work was different in feeling from that of the others, a decision was made by the government to apply a modified [version] of Emin Onat and Orhan Arda's project."⁹¹

After being officially declared winners of the Anıtkabir competition in May 1942, Onat and Arda signed a contract that paid them a commission equal to three percent of the construction costs. By 7 October 1943 they had altered their design according to the competition jury comments, which had signaled both the strengths and weaknesses of their scheme:

A peristyle-columned wide main building rises on continuous levels forming terraces. By means of these masses, wide steps are formed; the effect of the hill increases and the top is crowned in a splendid manner. The park section has been divided in a geometric way [and] the defects of the hill are not presented to the eye. Unfortunately, the inside of the building is not in the same character. In plan, the entrances are not given sufficient importance. The fact that the surround of the main monument has been crowded with excess details damages the plan. It would be good if the wall surrounding the park and other parts were made plainer.⁹²

and:

The charm of project no. 25 is that it crowns the hill in a beautiful way. In contrast to [entry nos.] 9 [Kruger] and 44 [Foschini] that have short vertical formations, this project has a horizontal appearance. The columns that surround the monument give the project a special beauty. It would be worth examining whether the removal of the side details that surround the main part of the monument would create a more open and clear architecture. The interior and exterior architecture of the monument should be made in a suitable style.⁹³

Arkitekt, on one of the few occasions when it agreed with the competition jury, commented:

This project is a composition that everyone is able to like. Initially inspired by a shrine idea forming a rectangular plan, the mausoleum and its details have been surrounded by a colonnade on the outside. The volume corresponding to the Hall of Honor has been raised from the general massing in order to attain an assured volume (monumentality).⁹⁴

Onat and Arda's design appealed both to the competition jury, who generally favored Western and classical forms, and to the editors of *Arkitekt*, who favored Eastern and Islamic forms, because the design could be seen as both. On the one hand, the main hall resembled a classical temple atop an acropolis, yet on the other hand it utilized Turkic (Seljuk) decoration. Both parties admired the monumentality of the design, a characteristic regarded as necessary regardless of aesthetic preferences.

In response to the jury's criticisms, Onat and Arda reconfigured the approach to the monument as a Street of Lions, formalized and enclosed the public plaza, and eliminated the arches and columns inside the Hall of Honor. An alternative, vaulted interior scheme with a dome on pendentives was rejected by the parliament, which apparently shared the jury's dislike for historical forms of this kind.⁹⁵ Other changes, not prompted by the jury report but possibly suggested by the parliament, seem to have been appropriated from the other competition entries. In the revised design, the reliefs on either side of the stairs to the Hall of Honor are similar to Foschini's project; the interior with sarcophagus, backlit by an arch, resembles Krüger's; and lion sculptures can be found in both Krüger's and Ates's entries. Of course, the lion as a symbol of Anatolia had been used previously and was not the invention of Krüger nor Ateş. It was featured, for example, in 1939 on the cover of the Turkish magazine *Sanat-Edebiyat-Sosyoloji* (Art-Literature-Sociology), which displayed a rendering of a giant lion on a

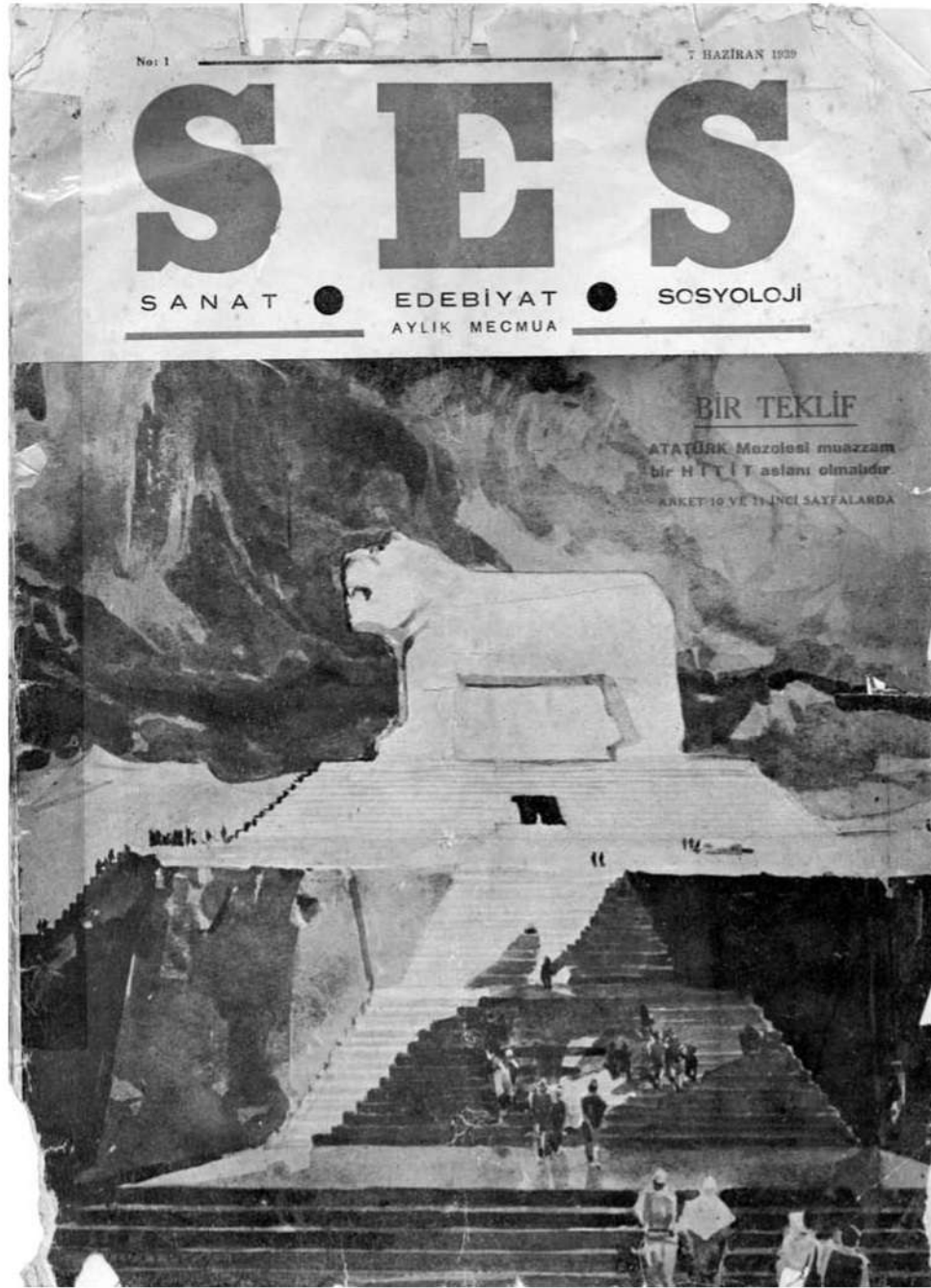


Figure 28 Cover of *Sanat-Edebiyat-Sosyoloji*, no. 1, 7 June 1939

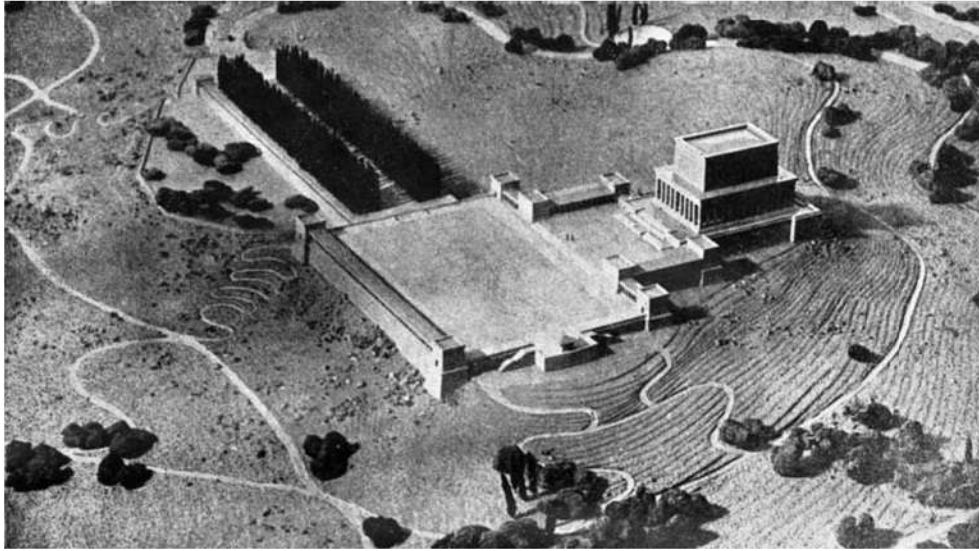


Figure 29 Revised Anıtkabir competition proposal by Emin Onat and Orhan Arda (model)

pedestal with the caption “A Proposal: Atatürk’s Mausoleum Should Be a Giant HITTITE Lion” (Figure 28).⁹⁶

Onat and Arda’s revised design for Anıtkabir was an abstracted and monumentalized Greek or Hellenistic temple, very similar to some of the reconstructions of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (Figure 29).⁹⁷ This was an unexpected symbol for the Turkish nation, but to legitimize their choice of stylistic models, the winning architects quoted the history of Turkey and the Turkish people that had been proposed in the Turkish History Thesis of the Turkish Historical Society:

Our past, like that of all Mediterranean civilizations, goes back thousands of years. It starts with [the] Sumerians and Hittites and merges with the life of many civilizations from Central Asia to the depths of Europe, thus forming one of the main roots of the classical heritage. Atatürk, rescuing us from the Middle Ages, widened our horizons and showed us that our real history resides not in the Middle Ages but in the common sources of the classical world . . . In a monument for the leader of our revolution and our savior from the Middle Ages, we wanted to reflect this new consciousness . . . Hence, we decided to construct our design philosophy along the rational lines of a seven-thousand-year-old classical civilization rather than associating it with the tomb of a sultan or a saint.⁹⁸

Unlike Lenin’s mausoleum in Red Square, Moscow (Aleksey Shchusev, 1924–30), which was quite intimate and almost humble in character, Atatürk’s mausoleum was prescribed in the competition brief to be a monumental edifice, visible from all over Ankara and capable of accommodating thousands of visitors.⁹⁹ Onat and Arda added an evocation of the grandeur of the classical past.

The construction of Anıtkabir took place in four phases between 9 October 1944 and 1 September 1953.¹⁰⁰ The Turkish parliament originally approved a total construction budget of 10 million Turkish liras on 22 November 1944,¹⁰¹ but this was increased to 24 million on 1 March 1950.¹⁰² The most significant change during construction was the elimination of the attic story of the Hall of Honor, an element criticized by *Arkitekt* for having unnecessary bas-reliefs.¹⁰³ Instead, a flat ceiling and roof were constructed; assuring that the mausoleum would more closely resemble a classical temple resting on the city’s highest point.

Completed in 1953, Anıtkabir first confronts visitors with an imposing staircase of twenty-six risers, representing the date 26 August 1922 during the Turkish War of Independence, when Atatürk’s forces could legitimately say that they controlled the country. On either side at the top of the staircase is a group of statues: to the left “[Turkish] Men,” and to the right “[Turkish] Women,” both sculpted by Hüseyin Özkan (Figures 30, 31). The men include a soldier, a villager and a student—symbolizing defense, productivity and education. Two of the women hold a wreath of wheat, symbolizing Turkey’s fertile land. The woman at left holds a cup up to the sky in her right hand, asking for God’s mercy and grace for Atatürk.¹⁰⁴ The third woman, in the back, covers her face and silently cries—symbolizing the nation’s grief at Atatürk’s death. This sculpture and the other statues and reliefs at Anıtkabir are rendered in a manner similar to the Socialist Realism used in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc during this period. However, these statues represent the Turk, the people of the Republic of Turkey. The men, especially the teacher, strongly resemble Atatürk himself.



Figure 30 Hüseyin Özkan, "[Turkish] Men," at the entrance to Anıtkabir

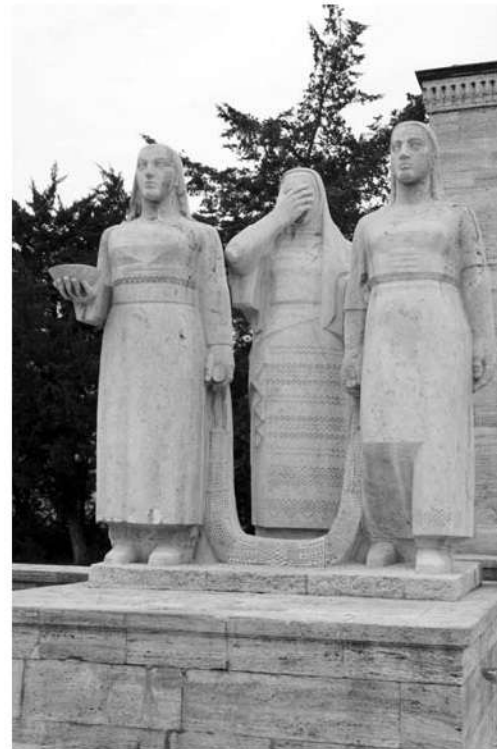


Figure 31 Özkan, "[Turkish] Women," at the entrance to Anıtkabir

On either side of this staircase stand two stone pavilions—called “towers” by the Anıtkabir administration—which introduce the architectural decoration scheme of the monument. Their details include Seljuk muqarnas cornices, relieving arches, water spouts, rosettes, and bird houses. These pre-Ottoman architectural features were explained by the architects as representations of the roots of Turkish architecture. The shallow pyramidal roofs and bronze arrowheads on the top of each tower evoke traditional Turkic nomadic tents (yurts),¹⁰⁵ still found today in parts of rural Turkey and Central Asia. This is the first of many appropriations of folk traditions at Anıtkabir. In addition to the two towers that flank the entry stairs, there are eight more in the Anıtkabir precinct, and each tower is named for and represents a theme related to the Turkish War of Independence. Freedom, Independence, Soldier, Victory, Peace, 23 April, National Pact, Reform, Republic, and Defense of Rights are experienced in that order by the visitor.¹⁰⁶ Inscribed on the inside walls of the towers are relevant quotations from Atatürk. For example, “This nation has not, can not, and will not live without independence. Independence or death” (1919) is found in the Independence Tower; and “To constantly deliver victorious results is only possible with an edu-

cated army” (1923) is inscribed inside the Victory Tower. The ceiling of each tower is decorated with an abstracted Turkish carpet design, a motif that appears throughout the monument on both ceilings and floors.

After passing between the statues of Turkish men and women and the first pairs of towers, the visitor follows a ceremonial approach known as the Street of Lions because it is flanked by twelve pairs of stone lions also sculpted by Hüseyin Özkan (Figure 32). These statues are strongly reminiscent of the Hittite lions found at archaeological excavations sponsored by the early Republic of Turkey, and they explicitly remind visitors of the pre-Ottoman origins of the Turks (Figure 33). According to the specifications of the Anıtkabir Sculpture, Relief, and Engraving Commission,¹⁰⁷ the lions are sitting or lying down—not standing up—so that they might simultaneously “suggest power and peace.”¹⁰⁸

This ceremonial approach physically ends at a huge public plaza, but it extends visually to Holzmeister’s Turkish Grand National Assembly, or Parliament Building (1938–1963), and beyond that to Çankaya Hill, the residence of the president of Turkey. In this way, the narrative of the ceremonial approach starts in the past (with the Hit-



Figure 32 Özkan, lion from the ceremonial approach to Anıtkabir



Figure 33 Lion sculptures from the Neo-Hittite settlement of Carchemish/Jerablus, Turkey

tite Lions) but concludes in the present and points to the future (with the Parliament and Presidential Palace). Once arrived in the plaza, the visitor sees the main temple-like building of the complex (the Hall of Honor) (see Figure 5) on the left. Framing the plaza are the remaining themed towers, connected by porticoes. The main axis of the plaza and the main building points toward Ankara Citadel, which represents pre-Republican (Ottoman) Ankara, before it was declared the capital city of Turkey. The visitor may be reminded of the past, but a view of this past is blocked by Atatürk (or rather, the building housing his body). As noted by the Anıtkabir Site Selection Committee, the Ankara Citadel was associated with the Ottoman Empire and therefore not worthy of attention.¹⁰⁹

The towers framing the plaza shelter several of Atatürk's personal vehicles and an Atatürk Museum. The ceilings of the porches are extensively ornamented with Turkish carpet (kilim) motifs, and the public plaza is paved with 373 abstracted carpet patterns, executed in cobblestone, another appropriation of folk traditions to give Turkish identity to the monument (Figures 34, 35).

The foot of the stairs from the plaza up to the Hall of Honor is framed by bas-reliefs. On the left is "The Battle of the Commander-in-Chief" by sculptor Zühtü Müridoğlu; on the right, "The Battle of Sakarya" by İlhan Koman. Onat and Arda designated these areas to be decorated with reliefs, but the subjects of the works—the events of July to September 1921, when Atatürk was officially named Commander-

in-Chief and a decisive battle in the Turkish War of Independence occurred at the Sakarya River¹¹⁰—were determined by the Anıtkabir Sculpture, Relief and Engraving Commission. "The Battle of the Commander-in-Chief" relief depicts preparation for war—with Atatürk stretching one arm and saying, "Armies, your first target is the Mediterranean; March!"—followed by a fierce battle that is decided in favor of the Turks by the Angel of Victory.¹¹¹ "The Battle of Sakarya" relief depicts the Turks who left their homes to face the attacking enemy—with a young man clenching his fist and vowing "One day we shall return and take our revenge,"—then the nation under enemy occupation, and finally a motherland figure pointing to an oak tree, the symbol of the Turkish Army's victory.¹¹²

The interior and exterior reliefs of the ten towers of Anıtkabir, like the sculpture that ornaments the Street of Lions, resemble Hittite archaeological finds.¹¹³ However, the subject matter is more recent (chiefly the War of Independence) preparing the visitor who ascends the stair to pay respects to Atatürk. The 1981 official guide book explains, "like a film, the reliefs explain episodes from Turkish history and Atatürk's life from beginning to end."¹¹⁴

Before entering the Hall of Honor, visitors are confronted at several places by the words of Atatürk. The speaking platform in the middle of the stairs is inscribed "Sovereignty Unconditionally Belongs to the Nation." On the cella wall of the Hall of Honor, behind the columns, two of Atatürk's most famous speeches are inscribed in gold

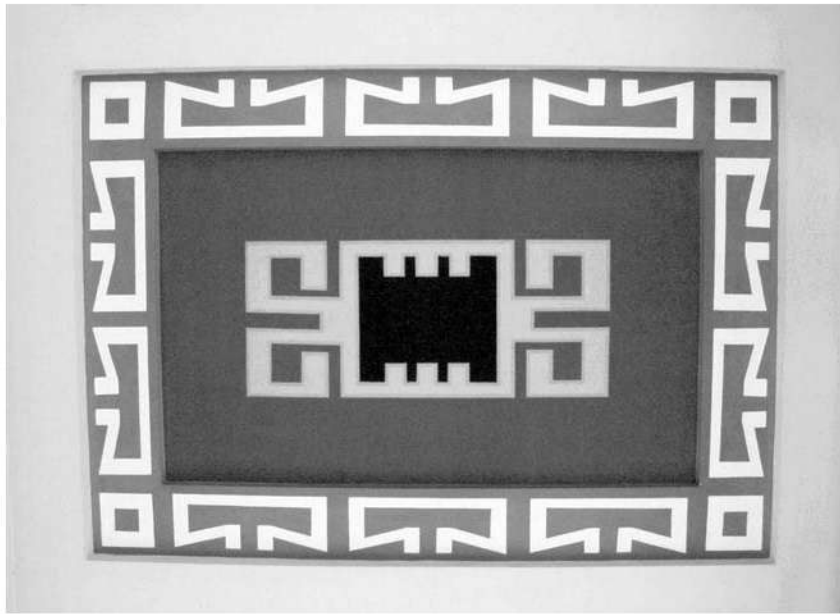
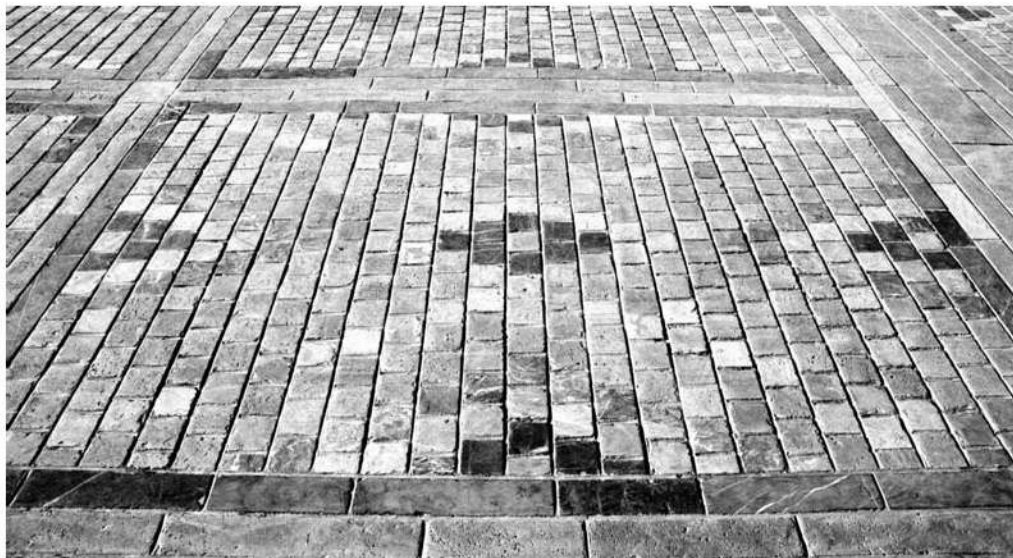


Figure 34 Turkish carpet decoration on the Ceremonial Plaza peristyle ceilings

Figure 35 Turkish carpet decoration in the Ceremonial Plaza floor paving



(see Figure 5). On the left is Atatürk's 1927 "Address to the Youth," his call for vigilance against traitors to the Republic; and on the right is his grand and congratulatory 1933 "Speech on the Occasion of the 10th Anniversary [of the Turkish Republic]." Although visitors are just about to enter the burial place of Atatürk, they are being reminded of the nation and the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire. There is a striking parallel between these inscriptions and the *Res Gestae* (literally, "things done"), the funerary account of his

life and accomplishments of the Roman emperor Caesar Augustus (63 BC–AD 14), which was carved on many monuments throughout the Roman Empire. Coincidentally, the most complete surviving copy of Augustus' *Res Gestae* is found on the Temple of Augustus in Ankara.¹¹⁵

Inside the Hall of Honor, the Turkish carpet motifs multiply in number and complexity. Even the roof beams are ornamented with intricate gold mosaics. At the far end, framed by a single large window, is Atatürk's huge marble

sarcophagus, a single block of red marble from Osmaniye (near Adana, Turkey) weighing 40 tons, a symbol of the grave and body of Atatürk. His corpse is actually interred in a *kiımbet*-like octagonal tomb chamber directly below the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus is surrounded by 83 brass cups, holding soil from the eighty-one Turkish provinces and two locations outside of Turkey. Atatürk is thus literally enveloped by the territory of the nation. This tomb, in the chamber below, is not open to the public, but it has recently been equipped with video cameras that transmit its appearance via closed-circuit television. Although this climax—the viewing of the great man's sarcophagus (and his tomb via CCTV)—is the most personal part of a visit to Anıtkabir, it also completes a narration of Turkish national history. The entire experience symbolizes the past and suggests the future of the Turkey.

The death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk left a large gap where there had been powerful leadership, an understanding of contemporary conditions, and a clear vision of the future. The Turkish nation attempted to fill in this gap with an architectural substitute—Anıtkabir. The history of the funerary architecture created for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, from his death room in Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul, to the funeral stage designed by Bruno Taut and his temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum, Ankara, concludes with his mausoleum, Anıtkabir. At one end of the spectrum, Atatürk's Dolmabahçe Palace bedroom represents the man Atatürk more than the nation. At the other end, Atatürk's Mausoleum represents the nation more than the man. The intermediate steps between these two settings—the temporary tombs and catafalques—reflect the gradually changing emphasis from personal to national.

The competition entries submitted for Anıtkabir attempted to represent both the individual identity of Atatürk and the national identity of Turkey. This representation took its clues from almost all periods of architectural history, except the period during which the competition took place, which is interesting considering the international discussions of the time that debated the place of “monumentality” within modern architecture. It could be said that the conclusions of this debate resulted on the one hand in Chandigarh and on the other hand in Atatürk's Anıtkabir. A majority of the entries by Turkish architects were heavily influenced by the prevailing Second National Style, which favored an abstracted rendition of Ottoman and related “Eastern” architectural traditions, and their position was supported by the leading journalistic voice of the time, *Arkitekt*. The competition jury, on the other hand, seemed to favor entries that evoked a more Western imagery, choosing a trio of prizewinners who employed

architectural imagery from ancient Greece, medieval Europe, and ancient Rome.

Once Atatürk's body was firmly placed in the completed monument, Anıtkabir communicated—and continues to communicate—the constructed identity of the Turkish Republic, educating future generations about their past. Anıtkabir, like most monuments, represents and politicizes the past, shaping the memory of Turks and the identity of the Turkish nation.

Notes

This essay has been derived from the author's dissertation, “Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory” submitted to The Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences of Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey in June 2007. The author would like to thank both the anonymous reader and David Brownlee for their comments in developing the essay, especially the analysis of the Anıtkabir competition entries. For readers unable to visit the monument in person, the author recommends <http://www.360tr.com/anitkabir/english> (last accessed 10 Nov. 2008), where it can be experienced virtually.

1. A “virtual tour” of Atatürk's Dolmabahçe bedroom can also be experienced at <http://www.dolmabahce.gov.tr/> (last accessed 10 Nov. 2008).
2. Atatürk eventually died of cirrhosis of the liver, but this had not been diagnosed at the time of retiring to Istanbul.
3. Turkish Law No. 431, passed on 3 March 1924, declared the estates and possessions of the Ottoman Sultan and his family, including Dolmabahçe Palace and all the Imperial pavilions, mansions, and lodges, to be part of the Turkish national heritage.
4. Michael Rowlands, “Remembering to Forget: Sublimation as Sacrifice in War Memorials,” in *The Art of Forgetting*, ed. Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (Oxford, England: Berg Publishers, 2001), 129–45, especially the memorial and monument discussion on 131–32.
5. Notable occasions in Dolmabahçe's Grand Ceremonial Hall included the banquet by Sultan Abdülmecid celebrating the end of the Crimean War on 13 July 1856, the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution on 23 December 1876, and the huge banquet for the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Karl I and Empress Zita in 1918, not to mention the regular Islamic holiday celebrations Şeker Bayramı and Kurban Bayramı that occur twice a year.
6. İğlemir et al., trans Andrew J. Mango, “Atatürk, Gazi Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938),” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia of Islam, original entry published in 1946] (Ankara: Turkish National Commission for UNESCO, 1963), 210.
7. Piano Sonata No. 2 in B-flat Minor, op. 35.
8. Exact times from Behçet Kemal Çağlar, *Dolmabahçeden Anıt-Kabire* [From Dolmabahçe to Anıt-Kabir], The Library of Atatürk Series, No. 19 (Istanbul: Sel Yayınları, 1955), 7–18.
9. These stations were: Arifiye, Doğançay, Geyve, Pamukova, Mekece, Osmaneli, Vezirhan, Bilecik, Karaköy, Eskişehir, Beylikahır, Sarıköy, Polatlı, Etimesgut, Gazi Farm, Ankara Train Station; *ibid.*, 13–15.
10. Taut died about one month after Atatürk, on 24 December 1938.
11. This is according to Afife Batur, “The Catafalque: Moving and Austere / The Drama of Death,” in *Thinking for Atatürk: Two Works: Catafalque and Anıtkabir*, *Two Architects: Bruno Taut and Emin Onat*, ed. Afife Batur (Istan-

bul: Milli Reassurans Art Gallery, 1997), 21.

12. Bruno Taut, *Mimarî Bilgisi* [literally, “architectural knowledge,” but traditionally translated into English as *Lectures on Architecture*] (Academy of Fine Arts: Istanbul, 1938), 333. The book was originally written in Taut’s native German and entitled *Architekturlehre*.

13. Times are again from Çağlar, *Dolmabahçe’den Anıt-Kabire*.

14. This institution was originally founded as the Hittite Museum because of its vast Hittite collection, but the name Museum of Anatolian Civilizations better fits the Republic of Turkey’s goal to reinforce a pre-Ottoman history of the Turks.

15. The tomb was not located under the dome of the Ethnographic Museum, as has been asserted in other works on this subject like Zeynep Kezer, “Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara’s Ethnographic Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey,” in *People, Power, Places*, ed. Sally McMurry and Annmarie Adams (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000).

16. Original Turkish: “BURASI 10-XI-1938’DE SONSUZLUĞA ULAŞAN ATATÜRK’ÜN 21-XI-1938’DEN 10-XI-1953’E KADAR YATTIĞI YERDİR.”

17. This display of Atatürk like an exhibit may have been inadvertent, but nonetheless strong.

18. Muammer Taylak, ed., *Etnoğrafya’dan Anıtkabir’e* [From the Ethnographic Museum to Anıtkabir] (Ankara: Şekerbank Kültür Yayınları, no. 7, n.d. [1998?]), 73. This is also mentioned in the film directed by Tunç Boran, *906 Rakımlı Tepe* [Hill with an altitude of 906] (Ankara: Emniyet Müdürlüğü Haberleşme Daire Başkanlığı, Radyo TV ve Foto Film Şube Müdürlüğü [Ankara Directorate of Police, Department of Communications, Radio Television Photography, and Film Section], 2003), at around 12 min. 30 sec.

19. English translation from Akıl Aksan, ed., *Quotations from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*, trans. Yılmaz Öz (Ankara: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982), 138.

20. Translation by author from “Atamızın Ölümsüzlüğünün Simgesi: Anıtkabir” [The Symbol of Our Father’s Immortality: Anıtkabir], Songül Saydam, *Bütün Dünya* 7, no. 84 (May 2005), 35–36.

21. This was just nine days before Taut’s death.

22. All of these opinions and comments by the Anıtkabir Site Selection Committee Report are from a Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-10-0, Ref: 1-8-14, File: 248, Date: 0/0/1942; translations by author.

23. Supplemental Report, *ibid.*, translated by author.

24. The location was called Observation Hill because of a meteorological station that existed on the site prior to the building of Anıtkabir. The name of the hill has since been (expectedly) changed to Anıttepe, or “Memorial Hill.”

25. Translation by author of Nürettin Can Güleklî, “Anıtkabir, Ankara’nın hemen hemen ortasındadır,” from *Anıtkabir Rehberi* [Guide to Anıtkabir] (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları [Ministry of Culture Publications], 1981), 39.

26. Translation by author from the Turkish newspaper *Ulus*, 18 Jan. 1939, 1. This speech can also be found in Taylak, *Etnoğrafya’dan Anıtkabir’e*, 22.

27. *Anıtkabir Tarihçesi* [A Short History of Anıtkabir], T. C. Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı [General Staff of Military Forces of the Turkish Republic] (Ankara: Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı, 1994), 4.

28. Although the Turkish History Thesis searched for a pre-Ottoman origin, it was in fact partly based on the Ottoman myth of beginnings as descendents of the Oğuz Turks, although not mentioning “a tribe of 400 tents.” See Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1958), 7–15, for more information about the Ottomans’ own myths of origin. The Turkish History Thesis seems to have adapted the Ottoman myths by broadening the extent to which the Oğuz Turks migrated.

29. Translation by author from Zeki Sayar, “*Anıtkabir Mısabakası Mınase-*

betiyle” [“On the occasion of the Anıtkabir competition”], *Arkitekt* 1–2 (1943), 3.

30. *Ibid.*

31. The exact number of entries to the competition is unclear. Sabiha Güreymen, who was the architect of record who oversaw Anıtkabir’s construction, claims there were forty-six entries in “Anıt Kabir,” *Mimarlık* 1–6 (1953), 3. The “Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report” states that forty-seven entries were reviewed, but the final project is no. 49 in the report—additionally, there is both a no. 6 and a no. 6a, for a total count of fifty. The official Anıtkabir website, <http://www.tsk.mil.tr/anitkabir/index.html> (last accessed 10 Nov. 2008), administered by the General Staff of Military Forces of the Turkish Republic, claims that forty-nine entries were received and two were disqualified—one for arriving late and another for having the name of the competitor written on its wrapping. Subsequently, many other academic and nonacademic sources also claim forty-nine entries.

32. Despite this conservative attitude, Bonatz would interestingly later immigrate to Turkey in 1943 and participate in proliferating the progressive Second National Style. His 1945 Sarıçöğür Housing, Ankara, took the Turkish House as its model, and is generally seen as an attempt to update vernacular forms. His 1948 transformation of the modernist Ankara Exhibition Building (Şevki Balmumcu, 1933) into The Ankara Opera, on the other hand, merely decorated the surface with abstracted Ottoman and Seljuk motifs.

33. The Turkish short-listed entries were: nos. 24, Hamit K. Söylemezoğlu–Kemal A. Aru–Recai Akçay; 25, Emin Onat–Orhan Arda; and 29, Feridun Akozan–M. Ali Handan. Italian short-listed entries: nos. 41, Giovanni Muzio; 44, Arnaldo Foschini; and 45, Giuseppe Vaccaro–Gino Franzi; German: no. 9, Johannes Krüger; Swiss: no. 42, Ronald Rohn.

34. Arnaldo Foschini’s first name is frequently misspelled as “Arnoldo” in the literature on the topic.

35. See Ataman Demir, ed., *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Anıt-Kabir Yarışma Projeleri Sergisi* [Mimar Sinan University Anıtkabir competition projects exhibition] (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan University Press, 1984).

36. The author has attempted but failed to uncover any information on these thirty-three unnamed entries. A Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-10-0, Ref: 1-5-12, File: 199, Date: 27/02/1942 states that a French architect by the name of “Bigot” (perhaps Paul Bigot [1870–1942]) “has prepared a project and is ready to send it,” but the author has not been able to find any information about this entry. Additionally, the author has theorized the following possible entrants but has been unable to locate any competition entries: from Turkey (because they were all active architects during this time) may have included Celal Bicer, Mahmut Bilen, Adil Denктаş, Nizamettin Doğu, Halit Femir, Rebii Gorbun, Rüknettin Güney, Eyüp Kömürcüoğlu, Affan Lügal, Asım Mutlu, Lütü Niltuna, Şeküre Niltuna, Burhan Arif Ongun, Ferruh Örel, Orhan Safa, Reşat San, Hüsnü Tümer, Bedri Uçar, and Emin Necip Uzman. From Germany (because they all exhibited in the *Yeni Alman Mimarisi* [New German architecture] exhibition in Ankara in 1942: Paul Baumgarten, Wolfgang Binder, Konrad (Conrad) Dammeier, Emil Fahrenkamp, Roderich Fick, Hans Freese, Hermann Giesler, Wilhelm Haerter, Hans Hermann Klaje, Peter Koller, Wilhelm Kreis, Hans Malwitz, Werner March, Artur Reck, Herbert Rimpl, Hugo Röttcher, Theodor Dierksmeier, Franz Ruff, Ernst Sagebiel, Albert Speer, and Friedrich (Fritz) Tamms. Paul Ludwig Troost, whose works were shown in that exhibition, died in 1934 so could therefore not participate in Anıtkabir’s 1941 competition. From Italy (because they travelled in the same Fascist/Rationalist circles as the prize-winning Italian architects Foschini, Muzio and Vaccaro): Franco Albini, Pietro Aschieri, BBPR [Gian Luigi Banfi, Ludovico Belgiojoso, Enrico Peresutti, and Ernesto Rogers], Angelo Bianchetti, Piero Bottoni, Armando Brasini (sometimes written as Brazini), Carlo Broggi, Antonio Carminati,

Giuseppe Capponi, Renato Camus, Enrico del Debbio, Irenio Diotallevi, Luigi Figini, Guido Frette, Ignazio Gardella, Giovanni Guerrini, Pietro Lingeri, Paolo Mezzanotte, Giovanni Michelucci, Gaetano Minnucci, Carlo Mollino, Eugenio Montuori, Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo, Marcello Nizzoli, Giuseppe Pagano, Giancarlo Palanti, Cesare Pea, Gino Pollini, Gio Ponti, Piero Portaluppi, Carlo Enrico Rava, Mario Ridolfi, Mario de Renzi, Mario Sironi, Giuseppe Terragni, Cesare Valle, and Luigi Vietti.

37. As quoted by Üstün Alsaç in "The Second Period of National Architecture," *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 95.

38. "Yerli Mimariye Doğru," *Arkitekt*, 3–4 (1940), 69–74.

39. This was more comprehensively published in 1988 simply as *Turkish House*: Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi* [Turkish house] (Istanbul: *Türkiye Anıt, Çevre, Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı* [Valuable Monument, Environment and Tourism Protection Foundation of Turkey], 1988). }

40. In the 1950s Eldem turned more structuralist, perhaps influenced by his time with Perret, producing the Istanbul Courts of Justice (again with Emin Onat, 1950) and collaborated with Skidmore, Owings & Merrill on the Istanbul Hilton (1952). His Zeyrek Social Security Complex (1962) seems to be a reconciliation of this structuralism and his interest in traditional Turkish houses. The most complete and authoritative handling of the oeuvre of Sedat Eldem is Sibel Bozdoğan et al., *Sedat Eldem: Architect in Turkey* (New York: Aperture Books, 1987).

41. See Thomas Leisten, "Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Shari'a toward Funerary Architecture," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990), 12–22.

42. J. P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïque anciens et médiévaux* (Paris, 1963), 55, as cited in Godfrey Goodwin, "Gardens of the Dead in Ottoman Times," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988), 61–69, note 16.

43. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 241.

44. Zeki Sayar, "Anıt-Kabir Müsabakası Projeleri" ["Anıtkabir Competition Projects/Entries"], *Arkitekt* 3–4 (1943), 60.

45. Elvan Altan Ergut, "Zeki Sayar," *Mimarlık* 300 (2001), 14.

46. "Atatürk Anıt-Kabir Proje Müsabakası Hakkında Jüri Raporu" [The Jury Report of the Atatürk Anıtkabir Project Competition] (Ankara: *Başvekkâlet Devlet Matbaası* [Prime Ministry State Publishing House], 1942) (Hereafter "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report"), 10, assuming that entry no. 28 (identification no. 51742) was from Eldem.

47. Zeki Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle" [On the occasion of the Anıtkabir competition], *Arkitekt* 1–2 (1943), 13.

48. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 8.

49. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 14.

50. Sayar, "Anıt-Kabir Müsabakası Projeleri," 61.

51. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 4–5.

52. Bozdoğan (2001), 289.

53. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 7, assuming that entry no. 16 (identification no. 25739) was from Ateş.

54. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 17.

55. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 12.

56. Zeki Sayar, "Anıt-Kabir Proje Müsabakası" ["Anıtkabir Project Competition"], *Arkitekt* 5–6 (1943), 106, where Rahmi Bediz's name is misprinted as "Rahmi Ediz."

57. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 7, assuming that entry no. 17 (identification no. 56732) was from Benar et al.

58. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 18.

59. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 11.

60. Among these was an example of funerary architecture, the Albert Leo

Schlageter Memorial near Düsseldorf, 1931.

61. Sayar, "Anıt-Kabir Müsabakası Projeleri," 64.

62. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 12, assuming that entry no. 43 (identification no. 72927) was from Holzmeister.

63. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 7.

64. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 6–7.

65. The Tannenberg Memorial was built to commemorate a German victory over the Russians in an early World War I battle at that site. The site eventually became symbolic of German heroism and was later appropriated by the Nazis when they renovated the monument and placed the body of Paul von Hindenburg, the German Field Marshal victor at Tannenberg and Second President of Germany, upon his death in 1934. His body was removed to the Elisabeth Church in Marburg an der Lahn, Germany, and the memorial blown up by German forces retreating from East Prussia in January 1945.

66. The Krüger brothers were actually thinking even further back in history than the medieval period for their Tannenberg Memorial, describing as a "modern Stonehenge." See Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 107.

67. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 10.

68. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 13.

69. Along these lines, Atatürk is said to have disliked Joseph Vago's entry to the 1937 Parliament building competition, won by Clemens Holzmeister, because of its use of a dome and minarets.

70. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 16.

71. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 10.

72. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 2.

73. *Ibid.*, 20.

74. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 13.

75. Despite Libera's semi-fame at the time, his submission is interestingly only displayed in *Arkitekt* as a tiny sketch on 4 of Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," drawn by jury head Paul Bonatz in his notes.

76. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 4, assuming that entry no. 1 (identification no. 12345) was from Libera.

77. Sayar, "Anıt-Kabir Müsabakası Projeleri," 66.

78. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 11, assuming that entry no. 39 (identification no. 10001) was from Vietti-Violi.

79. Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-10-0, Ref: 1-5-20, File: 1107, Date: 20.11.1944. In this document, it is mentioned that Perret was invited to submit an entry to the competition but because of the war its arrival was delayed.

80. Institut Français d'Architecture, *Les frères Perret. L'oeuvre complète. Les archives d'Auguste Perret (1874–1954) et Gustave Perret (1876–1952) architectes entrepreneurs* (Paris: Éditions Norma, 2000), 270. In this book, the competition entry is incorrectly dated as 1939.

81. Among others, see Bernd Nicolai, "Bruno Taut's Reforms at the Academy of Arts: Opening the Path to a New Architecture for Turkey," *Batur*, 1997, 43–45.

82. Bozdoğan (2001), 270.

83. Taut, *Lectures on Architecture*, 333. Since Hansen was not identified as an architect, he could be neither Theophil nor Christian Hansen, though this author can not be certain of his identity.

84. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," entry no. 18 (identification no. 69696), 8.

85. *Ibid.*, entry no. 22 (identification no. 80965).

86. *Ibid.*, entry no. 1 (identification no. 12345), assumed by the author to be Adalberto Libera's entry, 4.

87. *Ibid.*, 17.

88. This decision, however, was not formally published in the *Republic of Turkey Official Gazette* until 9 June 1942.

89. Onat's post-Anıtkabir career was a mixture of academic and professional practice. When the Istanbul School of Engineering was reorganized in 1944 into Istanbul Technical University (ITU), Onat became the first dean of the newly established Faculty of Architecture. In 1946 he was elected an honorary member of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). In 1948 he set up the Turkish branch of the International Union of Architects (UIA). From 1951 to 1953 he was Rector of ITU, after which, in 1954, he was elected a Member of Parliament for Istanbul. In 1957 he returned to a teaching post at ITU but was forced to resign from this on 27 October 1960, and died eight months later. Together with Sedat Hakkı Eldem, Onat designed the Istanbul University Faculty of Sciences and Letters (1942), the Ankara University Science Faculty (1943) and the Istanbul Courts of Justice (1950). Other works in Ankara include the Cenap And House (1952), the Presidential Palace Secretariat at Çankaya (1953) and General Security Headquarters (Emniyet Müdürlüğü) (1956). Other notable works include the Uludağ Sanatorium (1946; with Leman Tomsu), Bursa Governor's Mansion (1945–46) and the Devres Office Building, Istanbul (1961).

90. After winning the Anıtkabir competition with Onat, Arda worked on both the construction of the project, through to final completion in 1953, and also taught architectural studio (first with Onat and then after 1945 on his own). With the change to ITU in 1944, Arda was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Building Science in the Faculty of Architecture, and achieved the rank of professor in 1960. He also held the title of ITU Faculty of Architecture Environmental Analysis and Industrial Building Design Chair, and retired in 1978.

91. Güreyman, Sabiha, "Anıt Kabir," *Mimarlık* 1–6 (1953), 2–11, and 79. Translation by author from 3.

92. "Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report," 9.

93. *Ibid.*, 16.

94. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 5.

95. See Kortan, Enis, "Anıtkabir Projesi Üzerine Düşüncüler ve Bir Önerisi" [On the Anıtkabir project and a proposal], *Mimarlık* 335 (May 2007), 61–65, for more information about this alternative interior proposal.

96. Capitalization in the original Turkish.

97. The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (present-day Bodrum, Turkey) was the tomb of Mausolus, the local governor of an area under Persian rule called Caria, which was centered around Halicarnassus. Among others, see Thomas Arnold, *Restoration of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Architectural Association, 1896); William B. Dinsmoor, "The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus II: The Architectural Design," *American Journal of Archaeology* 12, no. 2 (April–June 1908), 141–71; and s.v. "Mausoleum," in William Smith, ed., *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: John Murray, 1875), 744–45.

98. As translated in Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 289. The original Turkish can be found in Emin Onat and Orhan Arda "Anıt-Kabir," *Arkitekt* 280 (1955), 51–61 and 92–93.

99. Lenin's Tomb is minuscule in comparison with Atatürk's Mausoleum: it measures a mere 3,600 sq. m in volume, less than 10 percent of the volume of Anıtkabir's main Hall of Honor.

100. First stage: 9 October 1944–9 October 1945 (earthworks and Street of Lions retaining wall), contracted to builder and engineer Hayri Kayadelen. Second stage: October 1945–8 August 1950 (Hall of Honor and support buildings rough structure), contracted to RAR-Türk Ltd. Third stage: September 1950–December 1951 (roads leading to the monument, paving of the Street of Lions and Ceremonial Plaza, Hall of Honor upper portion stone cladding, construction of monumental stairs, positioning of sarcophagus stone and electrical and plumbing installations), contracted to Amaç Ticaret Ltd.

Fourth stage: December 1951–9 September 1953 (Hall of Honor floor paving, Hall of Honor lower portion vaults stone cladding, Hall of Honor cornice/eaves decoration), contracted to builder Muzaffer Budak.

101. Approx. \$7.5 million in 1942; 2007 equivalent = approx. \$90 million.

102. Approx. \$18.5 million in 1942; 2007 equivalent = approx. \$220 million. A 23 Nov. 1953 article from *Time* magazine claims that Anıtkabir cost \$12 million to build, but it is unclear what source has been used for this information.

103. Sayar, "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Münasebetiyle," 5.

104. Gülekli, "Anıtkabir," 39.

105. *Ibid.*, 41.

106. The Independence (*İstiklâl*) and Freedom (*Hürriyet*) Towers are at the beginning of the Street of Lions; Enlisted Soldier (*Mehmetçik*), Victory (*Zafer*), Peace (*Barış*), 23 April (23 *Nisan*, the National Sovereignty and Children's Holiday established by Atatürk), National Pact (*Misak-ı Milli*, which established the borders of Turkey), Reform (*İnkılâp*), Republic (*Cumhuriyet*) and Defense of Rights (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk*) Towers are around the public plaza.

107. This commission consisted of Prof. Ekrem Akurgal, Prof. Halil Demircioğlu, Assoc. Prof. Orhan Arda, Architect Sabiha Güreyman (later in charge of Anıtkabir's construction), Prof. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Prof. Rudolph Belling, Prof. Enver Ziya Karal, Prof. Afet Inan, Assoc. Prof. K. Söylemezoğlu, Prof. Emin Barın, Instructor Kamil Su, Instructor Faik Reşit Unat, Instructor Enver Behnan Şapolyo, Instructor M. Çavuşoğlu and Prof. Emin Onat.

108. Gülekli, "Anıtkabir," 32, item no. 4 of the Commission Report.

109. Supplemental Report, see note 22.

110. It was after this victory that the French started to take Atatürk and his forces more seriously. The English would not do so until after the 26 August 1922 victory.

111. As described by Gülekli, "Anıtkabir," 74–75.

112. *Ibid.*, 72–73.

113. The interior of the Independence Tower contains a relief by Zühtü Müritoglu of a young man standing and holding a sword with both hands (symbolizing the Turkish nation defending its independence) and an eagle (a Seljuk symbol of power and independence) perched on a rock beside him. The interior of the Freedom Tower contains a relief by Zühtü Müritoglu of an angel (symbolizing the holiness of freedom) holding a sheet of paper (symbolizing the Turkish Declaration of Freedom) and a rearing horse (symbolizing both freedom and independence). The exterior of the *Mehmetçik* (Enlisted Soldier) Tower contains a relief by Zühtü Müritoglu of an enlisted soldier leaving home for the front and his sad but proud mother holding her hand on his shoulder (both figures symbolizing the sacrifice of war). The Victory Tower contains no reliefs because, according to Gülekli, "Anıtkabir," 102, "An artwork worthy of representing the Turkish Victory was not found." The interior of the Peace Tower contains a relief by Nusret Suman expressing Atatürk's "Peace at home, peace in the world" saying: farming peasants (symbolizing the Turkish people) and a soldier figure (symbolizing the Turkish army as a keeper of the peace) protecting them by holding out his sword are depicted. The interior of the 23 April Tower contains a relief by Hakkı Atamulu depicting the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament) on 23 April 1920: a woman holds a paper in one hand with an inscription 23 April 1920 and a key in her other hand (symbolizing the opening of the doors of the Grand National Assembly). The interior of the National Pact Tower contains a relief by Nusret Suman showing four hands joining on a sword hilt (symbolizing the Turkish nation's oath of unity to save the country). The interior of the Tower of Reforms contains a relief by Nusret Suman showing a weak hand holding a torch about to extinguish (symbolizing the fall of the Ottoman Empire).

and a strong hand raising a burning torch to the sky (symbolizing the modernizing reforms of the Turkish Republic and Atatürk). Lastly, the Republic Tower has no reliefs. The exterior of the Defense of Rights Tower contains a relief by Nusret Suman showing a male figure holding a sword in one hand and extending the other toward the enemy crossing the borders of Turkey in a manner saying "Halt." An oak tree under his extended hand symbolizes Turkey.

114. Gülekli, "Anıtkabir," 33.

115. See Suna Güven, "Displaying the *Res Gestae* of Augustus: A Monument of Imperial Image for All," *JSAH* 57, no. 1 (Mar. 1998), 30–45, for a discussion that strangely does not mention Anıtkabir but the Turkish Ministry of Education instead.

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Figure 1. Courtesy of the Turkish National Palaces Administration, Ankara

Figures 2, 3. Courtesy of Anıtkabir Museum Archives, Ankara

Figure 4. *Cumhuriyet* (newspaper), 10 Nov. 1944, 1

Figures 5, 30–32, 34–35. Photographed by the author at Anıtkabir

Figures 6, 11, 15. *Arkitekt* 3–4 (1943), 59, 61, 64. The author would like to specially thank independent scholar Zafer Akay, Istanbul, for access to his personal collection of *Arkitekt* and *Mimarlık* magazines

Figure 7. Courtesy Metin Sözen, Istanbul

Figure 8. Courtesy of the Turkey Ministry of Culture, Ankara

Figures 9, 10, 12, 20, 26, 27. *Arkitekt* 1–2 (1943), 13, 14, 18, 16, 5, 6, respectively

Figures 11, 15. *Arkitekt* 3–4 (1943), 61, 64

Figure 13. *Arkitekt* 5–6 (1943), 106

Figures 14, 16–19, 21–24. *Architettura: Rassegna di Architettura* 21, no. 11 (Nov. 1942), 357, 354, 356, 349, 353, 363, 365, 367, 366, respectively. The author would like thank librarian Sara Belli at the Architectural Library of the University of Rome for helping to locate this issue

Figure 25. Courtesy of the Société des auteurs des arts visuels et de l'image Fixe, Paris

Figure 28. Author's collection

Figure 29. *Mimarlık* 5 (1944), 3

Figure 33. Courtesy of The British Museum, London



Representing National Identity and Memory in the Mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

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